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ABSTRACT

The book of readings on multicultural education and the American Indian contains 14 articles presented in 6 sections: introduction to multicultural education: multicultural education policies on the national and local levels: cross cultural education and Indian student performance: leader and teacher training: and curriculum development. Specifically the articles address: traditional Indian philosophy as it applies to multicultural education: federal policy and racial stereotypes between 1879 and 1920: 19th century Choctaw bilingual and bicultural education: the renaissance of Native American culture as a result of multicultural education: patterns of success and failure in Indian studies programs: the implications of multicultural education for American Indians: school and societal pressures affecting multicultural education program implementation: the distorted view of Indians presented in most teaching materials: the controversy over the "cross over effect" seen in Indian academic achievement: the socialization processes affecting educated Indian administrators: factors affecting the education of teachers of American Indians: a model for cultural awareness inservice training: recommendations for the development of a social studies curriculum: and Indian content in a community based curriculum model for social work education. (SB)

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I

INTRODUCTION TO MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

TRADITIONAL NATIVE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHY AND MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Jack Forbes

"Any man ... who is attached to the senses and to the things of this world, is one who lives in ignorance and is being consumed by the snakes which represent his own passions." A person who is following the bad road is "one who is distracted, who is ruled by his own senses, and who lives for himself rather than for his people."[1] Those are words from Black Elk, an Oglala Lakota holy man.

Now I'm going to give you some words that come from when White Buffalo Woman came to the Lakota people a long time ago. Many of you have probably heard these words before but I think that they're worth repeating. "Every dawn as it comes, is a holy event, and every day is holy, for the light comes from your Father *Wakan-Tanka;* and also you must always remember that the two-leggeds and all the other peoples who stand upon this earth are sacred and should be treated as such."[2] And then some words from an Eskimo doctor: "True wisdom is only to be found far away from people, out in the great solitude, and is not found in play but only through suffering. Solitude and suffering open the human mind, and therefore a shaman must seek his wisdom there."[3]

I'm going to try to talk about some ideas from Native American philosophy, ideas that are very important when we think about education and especially multi-cultural education. One of the first things we find when we get into native philosophy is something that I call the greatness of the Indian mind. We (especially as we go through white education) hear a lot about the ancient Greeks, and we hear a lot about the ancient Romans and other peoples who were supposed to have been great thinkers and great philosophers around the world. But we hear very little about Native American philosophy, and yet the thing that impresses me more and more as the years go by is this thing that I mentioned called "Greatness of the Indian mind."

I'm going to try to illustrate a few things from this tradition — just a few among many, many different things — and try to relate them to this theme of multicultural education.

"Multicultural" means, really, many paths, many roads. That's what it means. Nobody knows what the word "culture" means. Anthropologists came up with the word but they don't know what it means yet. They keep changing their definitions of it. We think we know what it means, but nobody really does. If we boil it down, the closest thing that we come to is the concept of "way" or "road" or "path." The way people do things, the way people behave, the way people think, the ideas they have in their minds, all cause them to follow certain paths or roads. So we'll just call it "many roads to education."

In looking at that kind of education and trying to relate the thought of Indian people to it, I want to stress certain aspects of that native thought. Starting at the beginning, I think one thing we have to keep in mind is that in spite of all the talk about myths, all of the talk about mythology and things like that, Native American philosophy is the most firmly, empirically based philosophy that I know of. It starts not with abstract theories, but with concrete things which are immediately observable. And it really begins with the concept of the family and kinship, it seems to me. Black Elk says, "Is not the sky a father and the earth a mother, and are not all living things with feet or wings or roots their children? And ... the earth from whence we came and at whose breast we suck as babies all our lives, along with all the animals and birds and trees and grasses."[4]

So one thing we find when we go among different kinds of Indian peoples all around the country, we find this concept of kinship. Not only kinship among human beings, but kinship among all living things. And that kinship, again, is not based upon mythology, but it's based upon the concrete observation that each one of us is totally dependent upon the same things. And that each one of us — all living creatures — are born the same way. "But we must be on good terms with all the living things of the world. This is the reason why we must talk to plants we are about to kill and apologize for hurting them. The same thing must be done with the animals we are going to hunt."[5] "The Great Spirit made the flowers, the streams, the pines, the cedars — takes care of them.... He takes care of me, waters me, feeds me, makes me live with the plants and animals as one of them.... All of nature is in us, all of us is in nature."[6]

We can stop very quickly and think about what this means. If we lose our hands, we can still live. If we lose our arms, we can still live. If we lose our legs, our noses, our hair — all kinds of other things — we can still live. But if we lose the air we will die immediately. If we lose the water, the plants, the earth, the animals, we will die. We are more dependent upon those things than we are upon what we call the body. As a matter of fact, we don't really have a body separate from these other things. We are rooted just like the trees. Our roots are a little bit different — they come out our nose and mouth and other openings and through the openings in the skin. Without those roots which we carry with us all the time, we would die immediately. All you have to do to see that is to take a man and deprive him of air a few moments and you will see immediately that you cut that root that he has to have, and without that root — that umbilical cord — he cannot live. You will also see him cry and move just like a baby, because no matter how old we are, how arrogant we may be, no matter how important we may think we are, we are still little babies, sucking at our Mother's breast, the earth (as Black Elk said) and also utterly dependent upon the air and everything else. If we lose those connections our arrogance will disappear very, very fast. So one of the secrets of Indian philosophy is really understanding this kinship, this dependence, this relationship with everything else -- not looking at it through myths. The white society is the one that is mythical. The white society is the one that has invented the idea that human beings are independent and separate and that a person can take credit for what they do, that a person can say, "I did this and I did that." In fact we are utterly dependent all the time, not only on these basic things but, of course, on all the other forms of life that help us and inspire us at every moment in everything that we do.

So everything is like a big family. We are children of the Great Spirit, children of Mother Earth, children of the sky, and so on. We have that relationship, that kinship that is part of our identity. That is knowing who we are. In spite of everything we might think about being born even to a particular woman and being fathered by a particular man, that in fact is only a passage way. It is only a passage way that the Great Spirit and the creative powers of the Universe have given us to come into this life. And even though we honor those people and are dependent upon them, in a real sense they are not our true parents. Our true parent is the Great Spirit. And the Great Spirit takes many forms as the power that unfolds from that source goes through the Universe. "We... also know that, being a living part of the earth, we cannot harm any part of her without hurting ourselves."[7] "Peace comes within the souls of men when they realize their relationship, their oneness with the Universe and all its powers, and when they realize that at the center of the Universe dwells ***Wakan Tanka,*** and that this center is really everywhere — it is within each of us."[8]

Nothing that we do, we do by ourselves. We do not see by ourselves, we do not hear by ourselves, we do not breathe, eat, drink, defecate, piss or fart by ourselves. We do not think, dream, invent, or procreate by ourselves. We do not die by ourselves. That which the trees exhale, I inhale. That which I exhale, the trees inhale. Together we form a circle. When I breathe, I breathe the breath of billions of now-departed humans, animals, and other peoples. "A human being, too, is many things. Whatever makes up the air, the earth, the herbs, the stones, is also part of our bodies."[9] So we live in a world of many circles and these circles constitute our identity and they go out to encompass every thing that there is in this Universe. That is our kinship. Those are our relatives. The Universe is a family and we have to deal with other things in that Universe with that in mind.

One of the great contradictions which Native American philosophy had to try to solve many thousands of years ago, probably, was the contradiction that each one of us has to eat our relatives in order to survive. It is the nature of life to do that. Out of this came the concept that we do not eat more than we have to. And whatever we do in the way of killing, we try to do it in beauty; we pray and suffer with the things that we kill and eat. It is not enough to simply eat something and forget about it. One should feel the pain of the creature whose life has been taken for your food, just as your life will be taken for another creature's food.

All of this leads into another basic concept, that of humility, the opposite of arrogance. Juan, the Yaqui Nawalli tells us that: "One day I found that personal history was no longer necessary for me, and like drinking, I dropped it.... Self-importance is another thing that must be dropped, just like personal history.... The world around us is very mysterious.... As long as you feel that you are the most important thing in the world you cannot really appreciate the world around you. You are like a horse with blinders, all you see is yourself apart from everything else."[10] An old Aztec poem says,

> Those of the white hair and the wrinkled faces,
> our ancestors....
>
> They did not come here to be arrogant;
> they were not seeking;
> they were not greedy.
> They were such
> that they were highly esteemed on earth;
> they came to be eagles and tigers.[11]

And Black Elk says, "No good thing can be done by any one man alone." Juan was asked by his student Carlos Castaneda what it felt like to be a master, what it felt like to be a guru, and why he hadn't set up Juan Matus International University, or something like that, to honor himself. Juan replied, "I'm not a master, I'm only a warrior. So I really don't know what a master feels like.... A warrior takes his lot, whatever it may be, and accepts it in ultimate humbleness.... It takes time for every one of us to understand that point and fully live it. I, for instance, hated the mere mention of the word 'humbleness.' I'm an Indian and we Indians have always been humble and have done nothing else but lower our heads. I thought humbleness was not in the warrior's way. I was wrong! I know now that the humbleness of a warrior is not the humbleness of a beggar. The warrior lowers his head to no one, but at the same time, he doesn't permit anyone to lower his head to him. The beggar, on the other hand, falls to his knees at the drop of a hat and scrapes the floor for anyone he deems to be higher; but at the same time, he demands that someone lower than him scrape the floor for him. That's why I told you earlier...that I didn't understand what masters felt like. I know only the humbleness of a warrior, and that will never permit me to be anyone's master."[12]

There's a lot of things in that statement that carry through to many other subjects, as you can see. Because if one really has humility then there can never be a dictatorship. There can never be an authoritarian society. There cannot be exploitation in the sense in which we see it in the modern world. Those kinds of things are based upon the desire to be someone else's master, and based upon the arrogance to assume that you have the wisdom to take on that kind of a role.

Truly do we live on earth?
Not forever on earth; only a little while here.
Although it be jade, it will be broken,
Although it be gold, it is crushed,
Although it be quetzal feather, it is torn asunder.
Not forever on earth; only a little while here.[13]

Let us see, is this real,
Let us see, is this real,
This life I am living?
Ye Gods, who dwell everywhere,
Let us see, is this real,
This life I am living?[14]

These songs help us to understand another point, which is death. To Indian people, death was something that was kept in mind all the time. It was kept in mind purposely because one's own death, as Juan tells us, is our best teacher. Once Juan made Carlos Casteneda kill a rabbit. The circumstances were such that Carlos didn't want to do it. But it happened. He says: "The rabbit hung limp in my hand. It was dead. He said that the powers that guided men or animals had led that particular rabbit to me, in the same way they will lead me to my own death. He said the rabbit's death had been a gift for me in exactly the same way my own death will be a gift for someone or something else."[15] So when we look at death, we have to remember that even as we celebrate the death of other creatures many of them will celebrate our death. Our deaths will provide them with feasts. And our bodies will go into our mother, the earth, to help create that thing which soil scientists call fertility. Soil fertility is nothing more than the bodies of all of our dead relatives, plant and animal, for many hundreds of millions of years.

Our death will be a joy to other creatures. Just as we hunt, so we also are hunted. Bacteria and germs, not to mention other kinds of animals, will hunt us, and, eventually, they will trap us. We are no different from any other living creature and our death helps us to understand that: "Death is the only wise adviser that we have. Whenever you feel... that everything is going wrong and you're about to be annihilated, turn to your death and ask if that is so. Your death will tell you that you're wrong; that nothing really matters outside its touch."[16] "It is good... to have a reminder of death before us, for it helps us to understand the impermanence of life on this earth, and this understanding may aid us in preparing for our own death. He who is well prepared is he who knows that he is nothing compared with *Wakan-Tanka*, who is everything; then he knows that world which is real."[17]

A voice said to Lame Deer when he was on the mountain seeking a vision, "You are sacrificing yourself here to be a medicine man. In time you will be one.... You will learn about herbs and roots, and you will heal people. You will ask..; nothing in return. A man's life is short. Make yours a worthy one."[18] So death teaches us not only to understand that we are not really different from the other living creatures of the earth, but death also helps us to understand that we must use every moment of our lives for those things that are really worthy of the highest goals that we have. We don't know and nobody can predict that we will live one moment longer. So we don't have the luxury to fool around with things that are not worthy of a living creature.

Humility and death also relate to respect for others. And tied in with this, and also with the concept of kinship, is what we might call self-development and competition with others: "In Americanism there is no competition and no exploitation, since we must respect the dignity and individuality of all other creatures. If one is able to run fifty miles and another is able to run thirty miles that does not mean that the fifty-miler has 'beaten' the thirty-miler or competed against him. Both are simply seeking to give expression to the power of their lungs, legs, chests, and whole bodies. Since all men are built differently, each has a different potential for foot-running. No one can run farther than he can run. It is no disgrace to run only as far as you can run. It is no victory to run as far as you can run."[19] That, I think, is directly applicable to education, where the emphasis is placed not on the development of the individual but is so often placed on comparing individuals one with another, and on believing that somehow there is meaning in the concept that white people have of "getting ahead." Getting ahead is one of the most interesting expressions that we can find. Getting ahead of who, and why? Getting ahead of your death, getting ahead of the quality of your life? Those are the significant questions.

Coming out of kinship and humility also is the concept of respect, which in turn of course is the basis for freedom. Freedom and democracy are not derived from the systems created by philosophers. They are not derived from constitutions. They are derived from fundamental respect for the sacredness and individuality of other human beings. Without respect, you can have the finest constitution in the world and it will end up to be a farce, a dictatorship, or whatever. "To us, a man is what nature or his dreams make him. We accept him for what he wants to be," says Lame Deer. Gene Weltfish, an anthropologist, after working with the Pawnee people for many years said: "They were a well-disciplined people, maintaining public order under many trying circumstances. And yet they had none of the power mechanisms that we consider essential to a well-ordered life. No orders were ever issued.... Time after time I tried to find a case of orders given, and there was none. Gradually I began to realize that democracy is a very personal thing which, like charity, begins at home. Basically it means not being coerced and having no need to coerce anyone else."[20]

"My people were wise," said Plenty Coups the Crow leader, some years ago. "They never neglected the young. Our teachers were willing and thorough. They were our grandfathers, our fathers, or uncles. All were quick to praise excellence without speaking a word that might break the spirit of a boy who might be less capable than others. The boy who failed at any lesson got only more lessons, more care, until he was as far as he could go."[21]

Arrogance, of course, is the opposite of that. And one of the things that comes out of that kind of approach is another thing that stems rather simplistic, I guess, to the European philosophical mind. That is the concept that one must understand what it is that you are doing, and that one must pay attention to *doing* more than to *saying*. Black Elk explains the meaning of the sweat lodge to the Sioux people, and at the end of his explanation he says: "All these things are *Wakan* to us and must be understood deeply if we really wish to purify ourselves, for the power of a thing or an act is in the meaning and the understanding."[22] That's a very simple statement, and yet it is lost sight of in the modern world. What that means is that when we go out and try to participate in a ceremony, or whatever it is, it is our intentions, our meanings, our motives, and our understanding that is crucial. It is not the act of the ceremony itself. We can go through all kinds of things that make us look good in other people's eyes, but they have no meaning whatsoever. "Truly we are thankful that we have lived long enough to see the time come when these our grandfathers the trees bloom forth, and also the coming up of vegetation." Those are the words of a Delaware prayer by Witapanokwe. He ends it by saying, "It is said traditionally, when anyone on Good meditates [illegible]'s heart, there is formed the thought. And when he thinks of Good it is easy to behave well, but when he misbehaves it is the Evil that a person seriously thinks about that as concerns his life."[23] So we see that it comes back to intentions and to the heart. Coming out from that are actions that have to be judged. For example, a person might tell us that they pray all the time. And yet we might see them go out and exploit other human beings. We might see them live off money derived from literally the eating of the flesh of other people in systems of coercion. They might see evil all around them and do nothing about it, and yet they tell us that they are "religious people." That doesn't mean a thing because they don't understand the *meaning* of religion which is basically *living* it twenty-four hours a day. So they have no religion, really. Or, let us say their religion is what they do, not what they say they believe.

What is the purpose of education? To me it is not primarily the acquisition of specific skills or factual knowledge. Rather it is learning how to be a human being. That is, how to live a life of the utmost spiritual quality. A person who has developed his character to its highest degree, and who is on that path, will also be able to master specific skills. But if they don't have that spiritual core, they will use those skills to hurt other people. They will use those skills in the interest of that which is bad, rather than that which is good. We see this all the time with people who have know-how, but use that know-how for their own good, like many of the mad scientists that we have in the world today who are willing to let their skills be available to any dictator or government who will pay their salary. In return for that, they will use their skills to produce modern instruments of torture, weapons, and drugs that will change people's behavior. They have the skills, but they have no morals. They will do whatever they are paid to do. So knowledge without the spiritual core is a very dangerous thing.

These are some of the things that I see as forming part of this greatness of the Indian mind. They're very simple. They really don't depend upon any kind of metaphysical theory. They're based upon common sense observation and analysis of the reality of our own lives and our deaths.

What are their implications for the education of many paths? There are so many things that I could go into. The main thing I want to emphasize is that there can be no education that is multicultural involving the Native American tradition unless it gets into this area of the meaning of life, unless it gets into the area of values. If it just pays attention to painting or basketry or material culture, it is nowhere close to that which constitutes the real meaning of the Native struggle in this American land. So we have to somehow consider how we can bring that in. That is very hard and it's a challenge for all of us. I don't have the answer as to how you bring a spiritual path into schools in a society which is going in the opposite direction. I don't have the answer as to how you do that, except that we must try.

I want to conclude with a couple of statements that I think are very, very profound and so remarkably alike, in spite of coming from very different traditions. Lame Deer says that "the difference between the White man and us is this: You believe in the redeeming powers of suffering, if this suffering was done by somebody else far away, two thousand years ago. We believe that it is up to every one of us to help each other, even through the pain of our bodies.... We do not lay this burden onto our god, nor do we want to miss being face to face with the spirit power. It is when we are fasting on the hilltop, or tearing our flesh at the sundance, that we experience the sudden insight, come closest to the mind of the Great Spirit. Insight does not come cheaply, and we want no angel or saint to gain it for us and give it to us second-hand."[24] The way I look at it, the body is the only thing that truly belongs to us. When we Indians give of our flesh, our bodies, we are giving of the only thing which is ours alone.

Caesar Chavez, the Chicano Indian organizer and farm worker, said: "When we are really honest with ourselves we must admit that our lives are all that really belong to us. So it is how we use our lives that determines what kind of men we are. It is my deepest belief that only by giving our lives do we find life. I'm convinced that the truest act of courage, the strongest act of manliness is to sacrifice ourselves for others in a totally non-violent struggle for justice. To be a man is to suffer for others. God helps us to be men."[25]

Now you see one of the results of Native American philosophy. What that means for education is to try to help children to grow so that they have the strength to follow a path where they can see the entire world and other humans as their responsibility, rather than just see themselves and how much money that they can make.

It is above that you and I shall go;
Along the Milky Way you and I shall go;
Along the flower trail you and I shall go;
Picking flowers on our way you and I shall go.[26]

NOTES

1. Joseph Epes Brown, ed., *The Sacred Pipe: Black Elk's Account of the Seven Rites of the Oglala Sioux* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), pp. 4n, 7n.
2. *The Sacred Pipe*, p. 7.
3. Igjugarjuk, in Knud Rasmussen, "Observations on the Intellectual Culture of the Caribou Eskimos," as quoted in Margot Astrov, ed., *American Indian Prose and Poetry* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1962), p. 300.
4. John G. Neihardt, ed., *Black Elk Speaks: Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961), p. 3.
5. Carlos Castaneda, *A Separate Reality: Further Conservations with Don Juan* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971), p. 226.
6. Pete Catches, in John Fire (Lame Deer) and Richard Erdoes, *Lame Deer: Seeker of Visions* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972), pp. 138.
7. *Lame Deer*, p. 266.
8. Joseph Epes Brown, "The Spiritual Legacy of the American Indian," *Tomorrow* (Autumn 1964): 302.
9. *Lame Deer*, p. 149.
10. Carlos Castaneda, *Journey to Ixtlan: The Lessons of Don Juan* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972), pp. 29, 42.
11. Miguel Leon-Portilla, *Aztec Thought and Culture: A Study of the Ancient Nahuatl Mind* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), pp. 168-69.
12. Carlos Castaneda, *Tales of Power* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974), pp. 16, 27.
13. *Aztec Thought and Culture*, p. 7. Another version is on p. 72.
14. *American Indian Prose and Poetry*, p. 109.
15. *Journey to Ixtlan*, pp. 87-88.
16. *Journey to Ixtlan*, p. 55.
17. *The Sacred Pipe*, p. 8, n14.
18. *Lame Deer*, p. 16.
19. Jack D. Forbes, *Tribes and Masses: Explorations in Red, White and Black* (Davis: D-Q University Press, 1978), p. 117.
20. Gene Weltfish, *The Lost Universe: The Way of Life of the Pawnee* (New York: Ballantine, 1965), pp. 6-8.
21. Frank B. Linderman, *Plenty Coups* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962), p. 9.
22. *The Sacred Pipe*, p. 32.
23. *American Indian Prose and Poetry*, pp. 166, 169.
24. *Lame Deer*, p. 208.
25. Cesar Chavez, *Ahora!* 3(3), (Jan. 28, 1971): 1.
26. John Bierhorst, ed., *In the Trail of the Wind: American Indian Poems and Ritual Orations* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1971), p. 100.

RACIAL STEREOTYPES AND GOVERNMENT POLICIES REGARDING THE EDUCATION OF NATIVE AMERICANS, 1879-1920

Tom Holm

Europeans, from the time they first set foot on North American shores, looked upon the continent's inhabitants as not only "primitive" but seemingly part of the flora and fauna of the New World. The American descendents of English colonists consistently referred to Native Americans as "children of the forest" or "children of nature." This attitude inferred that Indian people not only were locked in a pre-pubescent stage of human development but totally dependent on, and subject to, the vicissitudes of nature. Native Americans, in the minds of the whites, were forever linked with the untamed forest, fields and streams. With this concept in mind, it was easy for them to accept the doctrine that Indian people, along with the forests and streams, would be crushed under the advance of western "civilization."[1]

Racial stereotypes, particularly the ones linking Native Americans with "savagism," "primitivism" and pre-adolescence, dictated government policies toward the tribal peoples of the United States. The United States government had tried to expand its territorial limits at the expense of Native Americans and at the same time force Indian people to abandon their traditions. Tribal cultures, to the whites, were cultural dead-ends and should be given up. When Indian people reacted against the assaults made on their lifestyles and land holdings, the whites regarded these actions as "savage rebellions" to be dealt with severely — perhaps in accordance with the rather grim Euro-American child-rearing practices of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[2]

In the hope of retaining national honor, however, government officials shied away from adopting an outright policy of extermination and have, since at least the 1780's, accepted a rhetorical ideal of assimilating Native Americans into mainstream society. As early as 1790 George Washington and his Secretary of War, Henry Knox, urged Congress to pass the first Trade and Intercourse Act, in part to "civilize" American Indians. In a series of such laws the United States government sought to encourage missionaries to go into Indian country, introduce domesticated animals into the tribal economies and provide for agricultural training. American Indians were urged to "give up the hunt," despite the fact that most tribes were already agriculturalists; work individual, as opposed to collective, farms and accept Christianity.[3]

While the white frontiersman undoubtedly wanted the native population moved off or buried under the land he coveted for himself, government officials concluded that all United States policies would be directed toward educating Native Americans in the ways of the whites. Native American males would be taught farming methods and females the arts of weaving, sewing and rearing children in the Christian tradition. Missionaries were sent to the tribes not only to spread their religion but to instruct Indian people in the notion of private property. Native Americans were sent missionaries, domestic animals and the services of blacksmiths in exchange for vast cessions of tribal lands.[4] The establishment of the Indian Territory and the reservation system, although an overt attempt at segregation, was instituted according to the rhetoric and idealism of the period to prepare American Indians for entrance into white society.[5] The reservations were to become "vast schools" where Indian people were to be taught to become farmers. Whites fully believed, throughout the nineteenth century, that American "civilization" would win out and that American Indian cultures or, depending on the perspective, American Indians themselves, were doomed to extinction through the "natural" processes of human progress. "Civilization or death" for American Indians was the white view of the Indian situation — there was no other alternative.[6]

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, when the majority of Native Americans had already been confined to reservations, nearly every government policy dealing with Indian people was considered to be "educational." By 1909, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs even referred to himself as the "principal" of an exceedingly large school.[7] The Dawes General Allotment Act of 1887, which was to divide the remaining tribal lands into individually-held plots, was designed to destroy tribal bonds, to force Native Americans to give up their cultural heritage, and to learn farming. White reformers of the late nineteenth century demanded that the government destroy Native American customs and beliefs and mold Indian people into competitive, individualistic carbon-copies of western white farmers.[8] Then, according to this line of thought, the native population would either "vanish" into mainstream society or off the face of the earth. If the individual could not compete, he would be considered either racially or culturally inferior and doomed to extinction anyway.[9] In any case, American Indians would cease to be "burdens" on white society, for the white reformers of the era held that nothing from Native American cultures could possibly be of value to American society as a whole. Although the phase "kill the Indian and save the man" could not be attributed to any one person, it fully expressed the sentiment of what was to be called the "vanishing policy."

Perhaps the most ardent advocate of the vanishing policy, and certainly among the most militant, was Richard Henry Pratt. Pratt, a career army officer, was the leading philosophical exponent of Indian education during the late nineteenth century. He was also the founder of the Bureau of Indian Affairs' educational system.

Originally a tinsmith from Indiana, Pratt joined the army to fight in the Civil War. His rise from among the ranks was steady if not astronomical. During the conflict he was promoted through the ranks from private to captain. After the war he decided to remain in the army. He was involved in the campaigns against the tribes on the southern plains during the late 1860's and early 1870's. In 1875 he began his career as an Indian educator rather than an Indian fighter. He was sent to Fort Marion, Florida, to serve as warden over the Native American prisoners incarcerated there for military action against the United States.[10]

Pratt's tenure at Fort Marion led him into Indian education. He tried to teach the prisoners English and urged them to take up white lifestyles. He believed that society would accept any and all Indian people once they had given up their cultural heritage. To this end he devoted his life's work, eventually establishing an Indian branch at Hampton Institute and founding the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania. He firmly believed that Indian youths should be removed from the reservation and sent to boarding schools because according to Pratt "if left in the surroundings of savagery, he grows to possess a savage language, superstition, and life." The goals of Pratt and therefore Carlisle, were to remove Native Americans from their families and heritage and make them able to enter the public schools equal to white children. Once out of Carlisle the youth "should be forwarded into these other schools, there to temper, test and stimulate his brain and muscle into the capacity he needs for his struggle for life, in competition with us."[11]

The "outing system" at Carlisle was another Pratt innovation and perhaps the method of Indian education which he was most fond of. Pratt insisted that "savagery was only a habit" and that Indian people should "get into the swim of citizenship."[12] In order to get his students "into the swim," Pratt placed Indian children with white families during the summer and even during the school year so they could learn the white ways of life firsthand and, according to Pratt, "become saturated with the spirit of it, and thus become equal to it."[13] Some whites looked upon the system as a training ground for household servitude and remarked that these "outings" were doing nothing but making domestic servants out of Indian students.[14]

More often, however, whites praised the system and referred to it as the "hope" of the Indian people. Elaine Goodale Eastman, a former director of schools at the Pine Ridge reservation in South Dakota, stated that the word "outing" was used "in a new sense by Major Pratt" and that it had become the "Carlisle watchword — out of the tribal bond; out of Indian narrowness and clannishness; out into the broad life of the Nation." As she understood it, the system was "by no means a summer holiday; it has become a fundamental part of the Carlisle training, a definite method — perhaps *the* method — of Americanizing Indians."[15]

Pratt's primary goal was to destroy Native American cultures and turn Native American males into farmers and females into farm wives. Consequently, the curricula developed at Carlisle and at later schools such as Haskell and Chilocco, tended to lean heavily toward manual training. White educators consistently agreed that this was the direction for all Indian schools to follow, whether government or parochial, because they were convinced that "the Indians have not been brought up to believe in the dignity of labor."[16]

But Pratt also insisted that his charges receive instruction in intellectual pursuits and had always held the conviction that Native Americans were culturally, instead of mentally, behind the whites. He advocated the training of Indian instructors to be sent back to the reservation to teach others. Not only that, but he firmly believed that Native Americans could be doctors, lawyers or clergymen and constantly pointed out the successes of individuals such as Carlos Montezuma, a physician; Arthur C. Parker, an anthropologist;

Charles A. Eastman, a physician and noted writer; Laura Cornelius, a playwright; and the Reverend Sherman Coolidge, a Presbyterian minister.[17] Strangely enough, despite his real as well as apparent biases toward Native American lifestyles, Pratt was one of the very few whites of his era who could distinguish between race and culture.

After 1900 some of Pratt's ideas began to be questioned. The majority of Native Americans attempted to retain their cultural heritages. The assault on tribal customs, despite its intensity, did not wholly destroy them. Although American Indian social and ecological systems varied from tribe to tribe, certain values concerning the structure of society and the relation of man to the ecosystem remained alive and seemed to cut across tribal boundaries. A spirit of collectivism was inherent in most American Indian tribal societies and a realization of balance in nature was a part of nearly every Native American world view. According to most tribal systems, the universe had definite order — "balance and reciprocal obligations." Man was a part of the system and could not control it. He could only meet the systems' requirements. Should the individual or the collective society fail to meet those obligations the system would be thrown out of balance and the "good life" destroyed.[18] As a consequence to the persistence of these ideals, much of Native American tribal cultures survived including ceremonies, customs, family structures and leadership patterns. These survivals caused many whites to regard Native Americans as racially "backward," so inseparable in their minds were the ideas of race and culture.[19] Pratt's methods, according to these individuals, had accomplished little or nothing. The Carlisle system, according to one writer, was impractical and Indian students had found the reservations unreceptive to their intellectual achievements. "In contrast with the sane and sensible policy of negro education pursued by such institutions as Hampton and Tuskegee," he wrote, was the "mistaken attempt of certain well-meaning philanthropists to give the American Indian an education of which he can make no possible use in actual life." Although "the rudiments of book learning" should be taught at the Indian schools, this same author suggested that the greatest emphasis should be placed on vocational training.[20]

During the period between the years 1900 and 1920 whites evolved an altered set of images and stereotypes regarding Native Americans. Many believed that retention of a culture they considered primitive necessarily implied limited capacity in mental thought. According to this mind-frame, people who willfully remained in a tribal society must be incapable of advancement. American Indians, therefore, should only be given "limited" educations, with particular emphasis on manual training. Of course, there was an overall trend in education toward vocational training during the Progressive Era reflecting the period's demand for efficiency and practicality. In many areas, old, classical curricula were being thrown out in favor of classes relevant to life in particular locales.[21]

The Bureau of Indian Affairs followed these trends. Boarding schools began to be de-emphasized in favor of day schools on the reservations. Instruction in the manual arts was given a higher place on the revised curriculums. The schools, somewhat ironically considering Pratt's adversion to anything connected with Native American cultures, also began to place a great degree of emphasis on learning "native" arts. To the Commissioners of Indian Affairs during the period, Native American basketry, ceramics and painting demonstrated creativity and served as vocational training. They also thought that these products could prove remunerative.[22]

Part of the image of Native Americans as being close to nature and "primitive" was the idea that primitivism produced great art. Many whites held the conviction that living in tune with the environment stimulated man's aesthetic nature. Tourism and interest in conservation brought many whites into areas bordering on or owned by various tribes. Individual tribal members sold home-manufactured goods to the tourists. By 1910 there had developed in the United States a widespread interest in collecting items of Native American manufacture. In addition to the "curio" trade, several white patrons had interested themselves in promoting American Indian painting.[23] The image of the American Indian as artists began to take hold in the public awareness. Almost immediately after Pratt was forced to resign as superintendent at Carlisle, the school hired two Native Americans to teach and further channel American Indian youths into art.[24]

Educational channeling according to racial stereotypes occurred regarding athletics. The conservation movement in the United States had both its romantic and its practical sides. Just as many believed that a life close to nature stimulated man's aesthetic side, so too did it bring about a more healthful existence. It was widely accepted within the medical profession that a life in the "out-of-doors" promoted health and aided in physical development.[25] Some authors advocated a return to nature and one even stated that all America should "forsake the injurious things of its pseudo-civilized, artificial and over-refined life" and take up "the simple, healthful, and natural life of the Indians."[26]

The American Indian "heritage of a superb physique" became part of the imagery built around Native Americans during the period between 1900 and 1920. Jim Thorpe, a Sac and Fox, led the Carlisle Indian School football team in victories over several white colleges, including West Point. Thorpe went on to win the decathalon and pentathalon competitions at the 1912 Olympic games in Sweden. It was true, according to one writer, that Indians "excel in many civilized sports."[27] Many did participate in the growing professional sports of baseball and later, football. In the collective white mind, Native Americans were "naturally" healthy because of their training and life in the "wilds." By 1921 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reported that many graduates of the government schools for Native Americans, who had been channeled into athletics, found employment as guides in summer camps and were involved in Boy Scout work. According to the same report, Native Americans also continued to "make good" in professional sports and, when that failed, worked in shops selling athletic equipment.[28]

One of the trends in American Indian education during the period after Pratt's resignation at Carlisle in 1904 was a willingness to give instruction in Native American culture. One of the chief critics of Carlisle's almost total commitment to make Native Americans forget or at least shun their heritage was the novelist, Hamlin Garland. Pratt's views on education centered on the idea that an Indian child had to be removed from any contact with Native American ideals, customs or ceremonies. He believed that these connections with family and tribal life were detriments that would preclude the child from being accepted into white schools. Garland, on the other hand, thought the system was degrading and left the child with an extremely low self-image. The Indian youth, according to Garland, was taught to "abhor his parents." To the novelist, these schools, which in some areas continued to function in this manner well into the 1930's, were "monstrous and unchristian."[29]

Garland's comments on the government school system for American Indians, written in 1902, attacked the very core of the Bureau of Indian Affairs' problem in educating Native American youths. On the one hand, the expressed purpose of Indian education was to make Native Americans able to enter into mainstream society supposedly with equal capabilities and enough self-esteem in their scholastic accomplishments to carry them through later life in competition with the whites. Garland pointed out, however, that instruction in the schools resulted in the denial of any good in Indian societies thus leaving the Native American child without pride in his own heritage. Garland believed that Indian people should have a right to self-pride in order to win the respect of whites in the United States.[30] Apparently, Garland's arguments found support. By 1920, some Indian schools were giving lessons in American Indian history and cultures, and many others were attempting to instill in the pupils a sense of self-pride through the development of Native American art programs. "We recognize," Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells stated in 1920, "that in the Indian's tribal lore, his art, handicrafts, and some of his ceremonies were cultural elements of value, which should be retained and encouraged."[31]

Despite Sells' statement, government educational policies did not undergo fullscale change. The effort was still made to promote farming among the tribes and the whites urged the Bureau of Indian Affairs to teach animal husbandry. In certain locales, Native Americans were taught to exploit the natural resources within their native districts. In the northern woodlands, for instance, Native Americans were channeled into the timber business because "they are lumbermen by instinct."[32] The Bureau of Indian Affairs, even with its art programs and classes in Native American history, was committed to the "utilitarian side of education."[33]

American Indian educational policies between the years 1879 and 1920 were really not policies at all. Rather, they were a series of stopgap measures instituted according to the changing stereotypes and ideals of the whites who ran the government bureaucracy in charge of Indian affairs. Rarely was there any allowance for Native American input, except perhaps in the case of promoting or teaching art. Education was oriented toward the white world. Native American art was tolerated only on the basis that the teaching of the subject would capture the attention of white consumers. Angel DeCora, one of the Native American art instructors at Carlisle, busily employed her students creating designs for furniture manufacturers in Philadelphia and fervently hoped that the business connections would prove remunerative.[34] Despite the changes and the supposed practicality of Indian education in the period, it remained a system of education which limited Native American potential.

NOTES

1. For views on American Indians as reflected in Euro-American thought see Roy Harvey Pearce, *The Savages of America: A Study of the Indian and the Idea of Civilization* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1953); and Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1800* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1973).
2. Racial stereotypes have ruled government policies. This theme is best expressed in Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *The White Man's Indian* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978).
3. See Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in the Formative Years* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962).
4. A compilation of Native American treaties with the United States is located in Charles J. Kappler, ed., *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, vol. 2. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904). There are several excellent studies of the early years of American Indian Policy. Among them are: Prucha, *Indian Policy in the Formative Years;* Reginald Horsman, *Expansion and American Indian Policy, 1783-1812* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1967); and Bernard Sheehan, *Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973).
5. This theme is presented in Robert A. Trennert, Jr., *Alternative to Extinction: Federal Indian Policy and the Beginnings of the Reservation System* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1975).
6. Pearce, *Savages of America*, p. 240.
7. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report, 1909* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1910), p. 10.
8. Several scholarly studies have dealt with this theme. Among the best are: Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis, Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976); D.S. Otis, *The Dawes Act and the Allotment of Indian Lands* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973); and Robert W. Mardock, *The Reformers and the American Indian* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1971).
9. Charles Moreau Harger, "The Indian's Last Stand," *Outlook 70* (January 25, 1902; 222; "The New Indian," *Nation* 79 (July 2, 1904): 48.
10. Biographical material on Pratt can be found in Elaine Goodale Eastman, *Pratt, the Red Man's Moses* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935).
11. Francis Paul Prucha, *Americanizing the American Indian, Writings by the "Friends of the Indian" 1880-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), p. 270.
12. Richard Henry Pratt, "Indian No Problem," *Missionary Review* 33 (November 1910): 851, 856.
13. Prucha, *Americanizing the American Indians*, p. 270.
14. *Proceedings of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indians, 1903*, p. 51.
15. Elaine Goodale Eastman, "A New Method of Indian Education," *Outlook* 64 (January 27, 1900): 222.
16. *Proceedings of the Lake Mohonk Conference, 1888*, p. 6.

17. For more on Pratt and especially on his students in the early part of this century see Hazel Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity: Modern Pan-Indian Movements* (Syracuse; Syracuse University Press, 1971).
18. Robert K. Thomas, "The Redbird Smith Movement," William Fenton and John Gulick, *Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 180), p. 163. See also Ruth M. Underhill, *Red Man's Religion, Beliefs and Practices of the Indians North of Mexico* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965).
19. See Frederick E. Hoxie, "Beyond Savagery: The Campaign to Assimilate the American Indians" (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1977), pp. 274-322, for a discussion of the idea of "backwardness" as associated with Indian people.
20. "The Failure of the Educated American Indian," *American Review of Reviews* 33 (May 1906); 629-630.
21. Otis L. Graham, Jr., *The Great Campaigns: Reform and War in America, 1900-1928* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1971), p. 26.
22. See Hoxie, ((Beyond Savagery," pp. 488-561, for an excellent account of the changes taking place in Indian education during the period 1900-1920.
23. Lewis I. Deitch, "The Impact of Tourism upon the Arts and Crafts of the Indians of the Southwestern United States," in Valene L. Smith, ed., *Hosts and Guests, the Anthropology of Tourism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977), pp. 176-177.
24. "Indians to Foster Their Native Art," *The Indian Craftsman* 1 (April 1909): 19.
25. Charles A. Eastman, *The Indian To-day* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1915), p. 177.
26. George Wharton James, *What the White Race May Learn from the Indian* (Chicago: Forbes and Company, 1908), pp. 11-12.
27. Charles M. Harvey, "The Indian's of To-day and To-morrow," *American Review of Reviews* 33 (June 1906): 703.
28. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report 1921* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1921), pp. 14-15.
29. Hamlin Garland, "The Red Man's Present Needs," *North American Review* 174 (April 1902): 484-485.
30. Ibid., pp. 480-481.
31. Cato Sells, "The Indian Bureau and its Schools," *Saturday Evening Post* 193 (April 9, 1921): 42.
32. "The Failure of the Educated American Indian," p. 630.
33. Sells, "The Indian Bureau and its Schools," p. 42.
34. *Proceedings of the First Annual Conference of the Society of American Indians, 1911*, p. 86.

CHOCTAW BILINGUAL AND BICULTURAL EDUCATION IN THE 19th CENTURY

Grayson Noley

Those who have studied the history of Indian education are aware that the idea of bilingual and bicultural education can hardly be considered an innovation of our times. Formalized approaches in bilingualism in the education of Indians began at least 130 years ago when textbooks printed in the Choctaw language were first introduced in the schools operated by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. These schools were located in the present state of Mississippi prior to Choctaw removal which occurred in 1830.

The purpose of this paper is to review the Choctaw example of bilingual and bicultural educational structures in the nineteenth century. A more complete overview of the rationale for the development of anglicized schooling and a description of certain characteristics of the schools are also provided in order that the full context of the structure might be more easily understood.

It is probably rather important at this juncture to clarify what is meant when reference is made to bilingual and bicultural education. For the purposes of this paper, bilingual education refers to an instructional method wherein two languages are utilized. As I have no desire to debate the finer points of the differing schools of thought which are involved in the use of more than one language in instruction, my remarks will be confined to descriptions of the methods. No value judgment will be made regarding the relative merits of different instructional approaches in bilingual education.

Bicultural education, as used in this paper, refers simply to the utilization of various components of two distinct cultures in the delivery of an instructional program. In this case I draw no fine lines regarding the equality of the volume of material used from the cultures concerned. The discussion will center around activities which imply the existence of a method of cultural usage that would add to the bicultural understanding of an individual student.

Before these discussions begin, however, it is important to know something of the background of the Choctaw Nation so that one might understand the rationale behind the way anglicized schooling was developed.

Choctaws became exposed to anglicized schooling at a relatively early date in their relations with the United States of America. They had been at war for the greater part of the eighteenth century and their society had undergone dramatic change. Because of the conditions of war, as well as other factors, the traditional Choctaw reliance on agriculture had given way to a greater reliance on trade. Farming in the eighteenth century had become difficult since one of the first objects of attack on the Choctaws came to be their fields which were burned repeatedly. Trade, with the European power best able to fulfill Choctaw needs for food, implements of war, and other necessary items, became the most important factor in the survival of the nation.

Skills which had previously produced such necessary items as cloth, cooking utensils, agricultural tools, and weapons became scarce as did the items. This is to say that goods of native manufacture became replaced by goods of foreign origin. Fewer people had the time to manufacture for themselves articles that could more easily be obtained through trade. And, other articles, not previously manufactured including some which had cosmetic value only, added to the long list of trade goods which became necessary in the latter part of the eighteenth century. All this means that the Choctaw Nation, as others in the southeastern region of this country, had become dependent on outside trade sources for many of their basic needs.

So it was that at the beginning of the nineteenth century the Choctaw people were beset by serious economic problems. No longer were they the self-reliant people of one hundred years before. A century of wars and the destruction of their national economy along with foreign demands for more and more of their landholdings had caused traumatic changes in their culture. Perhaps the most damaging aspect of these changes was that they had not replaced their losses with viable alternatives. This resulted in their becoming a nation of people with few independent resources. Treaties and alliances contributed to the decline of native manufacturing skills and the nation had become overly reliant on foreign trade for its basic needs.

Whereas before the Choctaws had the capability of feeding their own people even that was now at least partially dependent on good trade relations. Frenchmen and Englishmen had come to live and intermarry among them and by 1800 were beginning to create a class of mixed bloods who were to become highly influential in Choctaw national affairs.

Choctaws faced other problems as settlers drifted into their midst creating conflicts which were not political but social in nature. The newcomers were accused of murder, stealing, and of ignoring every law and treaty obligation then in effect. The Choctaws also bitterly condemned the sale of liquor stating that this act was the quickest and easiest way to destroy the Choctaw culture. Though protests were made to the Mississippi Territorial Government, no relief was gained.[1]

In summarizing the Choctaw condition during the first two decades of the nineteenth century one must take care to not overlook those who had become successful farmers and raised cotton, corn, and other vegetables in addition to keeping cattle. Many obviously were subsistence farmers depending a good deal on hunting as well. It is quite likely that the latter level of existence was harsh, not comparable with the stable conditions enjoyed prior to the occurrence of sustained contact with the Europeans.

Due in part to the boundaries created recently by treaties, farm land was subject to more sustained usage and became worn. Due to the skin trade and the influx of new hunters, game supplies were also reduced. It is likely that in 1820, most Choctaws continued to live in the poverty which resulted from these conditions.

It was, then, a time to seek out areas where change could occur and this indeed had begun to happen. But, the Choctaws had few alternatives and their resources, including land, were becoming less available. They were committed to a relationship with the United States of America and could only seek to improve their situation by demanding government response to their needs, a promise of which was implied in each of the treaties made.

There were many basic issues which the Choctaws had to confront if they were to remain a viable society. All these issues depended in large measure on their relationship with the United States. Perhaps most basic of these issues were the redevelopment of a viable national economy, the protection of individual rights, the protection of land resources, and the preservation of the culture.

The affairs of the Choctaw Nation had changed to such an extent that even if their societal structures had remained intact they would have been inadequate to meet the demands now placed on the leadership. It was, perhaps, in recognition of this that the mikos who met the United States commissioners at Fort Adams in December of 1801, made requests for tools, equipment, and instruction.

Among the articles requested in compensation for the land being ceded by this treaty were spinning wheels "for our young women and half-breeds...and somebody to be sent among them to teach them to spin." The Choctaw leaders also requested tools such as iron wedges, handsaws, and augers. As some of the Choctaws were cotton farmers, a request was made for a gin to be built within the boundaries of the nation.[2]

Disenchanted with the commercial establishments to which they were then subject, the leaders spoke of the need to make improvements in the trade system. To the surprise of the Choctaw leaders, the United States commissioners spoke of "gifts" of tools and other items which were alleged to have been given the Choctaws one year earlier. These gifts, it was said, were given freely with no recompense required. The Choctaws denied receiving these gifts and requested true inventories of future gifts from the United States so that they might know when or if they were being cheated. Finally, the Choctaws rejected what had become the customary offer of whiskey and reiterated their objection to its sale within their nation.[3]

These negotiations marked the first time the Choctaws officially made known their willingness and desire to accept teachers into their country to assist them in meeting the challenges they faced. It was also an acknowledgement that they had accepted the change which was occurring. It was, further, an indication that they were willing to cope with the change by acquiring the necessary skills.

It would appear, then, that the Choctaw Nation had begun to seek new methods for the preservation of its society as early as 1801. The actual development of schools, however, did not occur until near the end of the second decade.

Implications of the Acceptance of Anglicized Schools

Formal schooling as an institution is a method for transmitting knowledge and culture from one generation to the next. It also serves as a means of making the society dynamic and progressive in the economic, social, and political sense. It is important that the learning produced by the school system be a reflection of the society itself and finally, the education system must be recognized as an acceptable aspect of the society with the members believing in its viability as well as the utility of its product.

The previous Choctaw social structure that provided the means for transmitting knowledge and culture was adequate to serve the needs of the people. Though the means for doing so is not clearly evident when compared with modern structures, the early Choctaw social system maintained a vitality which enabled it not only to accommodate the needs of the existing Choctaw Nation, but to provide benefits to those external to the nation as well. This was clearly exemplified by their former ability to provide surplus agricultural products to their less productive neighbors in the form of trade or aid. Indeed, it was due to its economic, political, and social stability that the Choctaw Nation was able to expand its territory and culture. It is, then, easy to conclude that the educational system employed by Choctaws prior to sustained European contact was sufficient to meet the needs of a dynamic society.

Choctaws, by virtue of their contact and confrontation with the Europeans, were forced to adjust their society in ways that eventually proved detrimental to their cultural integrity. This occurred slowly in terms of the number of years, but quickly in terms of the effects of the change. That is, each generation began to be faced with crises which threatened its existence and decisions had to be made for the sake of survival. This is not to say that change, in and of itself, was responsible for the cultural deterioration which occurred. Rather, it was the nature of this particular change, coming by force as it did, that significantly diminished the vitality and health of the Choctaw society.

Why were the Choctaws willing to accept anglicized schooling for their children? Perhaps, as suggested by the well-known Choctaw Chief, Pushmataha, the answer was survival. If the Choctaw Nation was to survive the early nineteenth century, it had few alternatives. One alternative was to fight, which likely would have been an act of futility. A possible, but not certain, alternative was to assimilate and strive to become American citizens. Such a course of action would have, in theory at least, solved all problems for the neo-Americans but would have been cultural suicide for the Choctaws. A third alternative was, of course, removal. This however, would (and did) lead to other confrontations and hardships Choctaws thought unnecessary. Flight, another alternative, would have guaranteed uncertainty and required a major change in the Choctaw social system. The final alternative was to attempt to use anglicized education as a means of preserving their own basic social structures and cultural values, while at the same time accommodating the kind of adjustments to their society which were already being demanded. This is not to say that Choctaws entertained any notions of succumbing to a "superior" social system but rather, like the attitude of the Chinese during the Ming Dynasty, anglicized education was meant not to be instituted at the expense of traditional values, but as a means of preserving them.[4]

That the last alternative was possible was a decision apparently made by those leaders who supported the initiation of the schools. The full bloods, Pushmataha, Apukshunnubbee, and Moshulatubbee, and the mixed blood, David Folsom, were the most obvious of these leaders but it is clear that others were involved as well. These others included the white interpreter, John Pitchlynn, who assisted the missionaries on many occasions, even making a loan, which later became a donation, of $1200 to support the mission at Eliot at a time when the annuities were slow in arriving.[5]

The presence of the mixed blood Choctaws and their almost unanimous support of the missionary schools, as evidenced by their offering of their homes and property for education purposes and the attendance of many of their children in the schools, leads one to suspect the presence of a further explanation for the acceptance of anglicized education. That explanation would be that the mixed bloods, though living in homes presided over by non-Choctaws, grew up among Choctaws, spoke the language, and English as well, and came to adulthood with two differing concepts of society. If we may assume that the fathers exerted a good deal of influence on the life-philosophies of their sons, then it would be easy to conclude that the most logical choice for the sons would be to combine what they considered the best of the two cultures and use them for their own benefit while encouraging others to do the same.

An explanation for mixed blood support is easily rationalized. It is not as easy, though, to analyze the rationale of the full bloods. It is tempting to accept the rationale of the final alternative described above or the earlier described position attributed to Pushmataha and leave it. However, one is compelled to suggest another possible explanation which would apply to the mixed bloods as well.

This explanation suggests that in view of the overwhelming influx of European values and the repeated exposure to such by leaders of the Choctaw Nation led to their developing deeply imbedded doubts regarding the ability of the traditional society to survive. Indeed, it is possible that Choctaws themselves began to see more advantages in the neo-American style of life than in their own. Perceived motives behind the land grabbing machinations of the United States government may have become attractive to the Choctaw leadership; particularly since several of them had been receiving personal annuities since the 1805 Mount Dexter Treaty.[6] It was, perhaps, these annuities and the promise of more preferential treatment which began seriously to adjust the thinking of the leaders bringing them to the understanding that the government attempts to alter the Choctaw lifestyle were all for the best interests of the Choctaw people.

The Choctaw School System

Schools in the 1820s were initially begun by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in the Mississippi area, but a school was also operated in Kentucky by R. M. Johnson, a member of the United States Senate and later Vice President of the United States. This particular school became known as Choctaw Academy and produced many leaders for the Choctaw Nation even though it was unpopular with that government for many years.[7]

Schools which were closed in Mississippi during the forced removal of Choctaws to what is now Southeast Oklahoma were relocated and reopened in the new territory. These schools, which were located in many different communities, were the beginning of the neighborhood school system which became a symbol of the Choctaw Nation.

In 1842 the Choctaw General Council passed an act providing for a system of public instruction.[8] Though this act established a system of boarding schools it eventually became the authorization for the neighborhood schools which were also financed by the Choctaw General Council.

By the time of the Civil War the schools were firmly established. However, the advent of that war eventually caused the suspension of all educational activities as Confederate soldiers were billeted in some of the schools and funds for the others were diverted to the war effort.

Following the war the schools were reopened as they had become indispensible to the Choctaw Nation. Though they suffered through financial difficulties and management problems which closed some schools and threatened others the system continued to grow until the Choctaw Nation was absorbed into Oklahoma Territory and eventually the State of Oklahoma.

Characteristics of the Schools

The early curriculum in most Choctaw schools consisted of a combination of agricultural and mechanic arts in addition to the teaching of the English language, geography, arithmetic, and Bible lessons. In the American Board schools students were largely responsible for performing all duties which provided for their support. This included, for the boys, farming and blacksmithing, and for the girls, cooking, baking, mending, and washing clothes and other duties which were women's work in those days.[9]

The schools operated in the 1820s by both the missionaries of the American Board and Senator Johnson utilized the Lancasterian system. This system of instructional delivery was the great educational innovation of the day and was, in fact, recommended for use in Indian schools by the federal government. In any case, some students progressed quickly in the ABC's and learned to read the Bible rather quickly. Others did not progress as quickly and some grew disenchanted and left. Some were taken by their parents because of homesickness or other illnesses. Those who progressed rapidly were used to help other students, in keeping with the Lancasterian model.

Religious indoctrination by the American Board progressed rather slowly as it was their belief that people should first be able to discover religion along with their educational growth. Thus, when a choice was made for Christianity the decision was presumed to be on knowledge and understanding rather than pure emotion.[10] Later in the 1820s missionaries of other denominations, especially the Methodists, held an opposite view.[11] As a result of the American Board position, however, few converts were made. On the other hand, as a result of the Methodist activities, thousands of converts were claimed.[12]

Eventually, even in the late 1820s, Native American teachers began to appear in the various schools. This number grew as the schools were developed in the new Choctaw Nation. Although, during the latter part of the century most of the teachers were Choctaw, there were always a number of white teachers employed by the school system. These teachers published for a short time a professional journal entitled "The Choctaw School Journal."[13]

The schools were governed, following the passage of the public school legislation in 1842, by a National Board of Education which was in turn headed by a National Superintendent of Schools. Funds were provided largely from money earned by the Choctaw Nation in interest from land sales, and from subscriptions. Taxation of property was not known to be used.

Students were taught in English initially which created obvious problems as most of the students spoke only Choctaw. Eventually however (about 1824) three of the missionaries began an extensive study of the Choctaw language and within three years published several texts.[14] These studies and texts marked the beginning of bilingual instruction in the Choctaw schools, a characteristic which prevailed throughout the rest of their history.

Those who participated in the study of the Choctaw language were the missionaries Cyrus Byington, Alfred Wright, and Loring S. Williams. All were employed by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

The development of the texts and the use of the Choctaw language in instruction were based on the idea credited to Cyrus Byington that it would be easier to teach first in the native language and later convert slowly to English. The success of this approach was undoubtedly aided by the use of the Lancasterian system and the rapid development of Choctaw teachers who were bilingual. The Lancasterian system utilized the older or more advanced students to teach younger or newer students under the supervision of a master teacher. The more advanced students were able to use their facility in Choctaw and English to a sufficient degree to aid the learning of those students who were just being introduced to anglicized schooling and the foreign language. The Choctaw teachers were able to do the same but at a higher level of understanding.

Although the use of bilingual instruction prior to the Civil War appears to have been a characteristic of the American Board schools, there is no evidence that it became such in the schools developed by other missionary groups. Or, at least, the concept of dual language usage was not as clearly defined. In fact, some missionary school leaders spoke vehemently against the instructional use of the Choctaw language as is witnessed by an excerpt from a letter written in 1838. This letter, written by Ramsay D. Potts, a Baptist missionary to Lucius Bolles of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions stated that,

> Their intercourse in connexion (sic) with the white population of the United States, are of such a nature that it would be worse than useless

> to spend time in obtaining a critical knowledge of their language, or of introducing into the schools such books as have been translated and published in Choctaw. The gospel and English language to all human appearances must be the means in the providence of God, of their spiritual and temporal salvation.

In this letter Potts, who at the time was the head of a missionary school located near the present site of Fort Towson in southeastern Oklahoma, was providing a rationale for his request for funds to hire an interpreter.[15]

Other missionary administrators of Choctaw schools are known to have expressed similar sentiments regarding the use of Choctaw in schools. In fact, it is clear that even in the American Board schools the final intent was to make Choctaws English speaking. After some facility in English was gained by students the use of Choctaw was discouraged and some school reports appear to have gauged success according to the degree of English usage.

It is clear then, that at least in the American Board schools techniques familiar to contemporary bilingual education were understood and used in some Choctaw schools. In all cases some method of bilingual instruction had to be used due to the fact that most students, even in the later years, appeared at the schools speaking only Choctaw.

It, perhaps, should be mentioned that although the official rhetoric may state differently, contemporary bilingual efforts are largely focused toward development of facility in English. Despite the often stated goal of the development of students who are bilingual and bicultural, there are, in reality, few programs which exhibit real intent toward this end. As one measure of this we might inquire about the number of English speakers who are in programs geared toward the development of facility in Spanish or a native language. Or, are we to understand that bilingualism and biculturalism are necessary and helpful only for those minority cultures and languages which infringe upon the smooth instructional offerings of the American public school system. Some may believe this. I do not, particularly insofar as it concerns cultural values. There are many beliefs held by members of the various Native American cultures which can contribute significantly to the sound development of pluralistic values for the citizenry of the United States.

Bicultural education, as a specific effort in Choctaw schools, is difficult to pinpoint. My literature and document search in this area has not been exhaustive but at this point all that has been found are muted references to its existence. In reality, however, one must be aware of its existence if only in the non-formal sense. This means that the schools which served Choctaw students provided a sort of "white studies" curriculum designed to teach about neo-American ways of life. Obviously, there would have been no attempt by missionaries, who considered Choctaw ways heathenish, to teach about the native culture. But, it is clear that many Choctaws themselves maintained confidence in their basic value structures. This is to say that although Christianity and the concept of anglicized schools were embraced readily by Choctaw people, it appears to have been done on terms which were designed to maintain the strength and unity of the Choctaws as a nation of people.

There are areas of instruction in the schools, however, which could be considered to parallel aspects of Choctaw culture. The most obvious of these is the teaching of agriculture. As Choctaws were known to have been agrarian people the teaching of this area in schools would simply be a different means of showing young people the manner in which their basic livelihood was to be gained. And, although some will argue that teaching men to cultivate fields was contrary to the original arrangement, i.e., that farming was women's work, it is clear that even before European influence men did indeed engage in farming. This is not to say, of course, that women did not farm for it is acknowledged that they performed a great amount of the work. The women, in fact, were the ones who were more obviously led away from their cultural responsibilities in this respect. In fact, the women were considered by the missionaries to be indispensable in the Christianization effort. The belief held by the missionaries was that if women could be taught to have understandings of family life and Christianity similar to European or neo-American women, that they would demand a similar change in their men. This was an important rationale for the inclusion of Choctaw girls in the missionary schools.

In another area, Choctaws were thought by missionaries not to be practitioners of an inferior or false religion but to have no concept of religion at all. As a means of making Christian teaching relevant to Choctaw beliefs about their origins and other events which were explained through legend and myth, it appears that some stories told by Choctaws have been adjusted so that they have great similarity to Christian mythology. Examples are two stories, allegedly Choctaw in origin; one of which is a story of a great flood which destroyed all but a Choctaw Noah, and the other a story of a great tower being built to reach the heavens that was discontinued when all the builders suddenly were speaking different languages.

As previously mentioned, specific references to the actual use of the Choctaw culture are actually only alluded to by writers with whom I am familiar. But, it appears to be somewhat clear that the use of aspects of the Choctaw culture in the mission schools was, in large measure, unavoidable.

The Impact of Bilingual and Bicultural Education

There are many examples of how the Choctaw Nation was able to meet what was stated earlier as a possible goal of the acceptance of anglicized schooling. It is clear that the Choctaw Nation was able to survive under its own rule until 1897, longer than nearly all native nations. The reason they were able to do so is largely attributable to their knowledge and use of the United States' form of government and legal structure. During the second half of the nineteenth century the Choctaws counted among their numbers attorneys, physicians, ministers, and businessmen as well as those who adhered strongly to more traditionally Choctaw ways of life. They were able to offer the benefits of anglicized education to a significant number of their citizens and yet maintained a strong sense of loyalty to their own values. They kept control of their government and reconstructed a system of representation that had a great many similarities to their traditional structure. In short, they maintained control of their own destinies to the extent that it was possible to do so in the nineteenth century.

In the latter half of that century, newspapers emerged which were printed in Choctaw and sometimes in both Choctaw and English. The Choctaw Nation maintained a staff of their own people in Washington, D.C. for the purpose of representing their interests, particularly as they concerned payment for obligations made by the United States in the 1830 Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, the Choctaw removal treaty. This Choctaw delegation also represented their nation in other matters, some of which concerned the maintenance of their national sovereignty in legal and political areas. In at least one instance, a former United States Senator was engaged by the Choctaws to serve as a lobbyist on their behalf.

In spite of the emphasis on English instruction in Choctaw schools, the language used in the official proceedings of the nation was Choctaw. In fact, though mixed blood citizens often held appointive offices, it was extremely difficult for any but a full blood to be elected to any office prior to 1850. Party politics followed a pattern of blood quantum. The two opposing political parties in the later years were the Progressives and the Nationals. The Progressives represented change toward the adoption of economic structures similar to those in the United States. The Nationals, on the other hand, strongly adhered to such values as common ownership of property and the equal distribution of economic gain. Not surprisingly, the Progressives were mostly mixed bloods and the Nationals were mostly full bloods.

It is clear, then, that the Choctaw Nation had become truly bilingual and bicultural in the second half of the nineteenth century. This situation can, in retrospect, be judged to have been both advantageous and disastrous for the integrity of the culture and the survival of their national autonomy. One of the most obvious mistakes the Choctaws made was their faith in what should have been the fair and honest dealings between two democracies. This faith led the Choctaws to declare in a national resolution that it could not believe that,

> such a great, grand, and Christian Nation as the United States Government would so stultify itself in the eyes of the civilized world by disregarding treaties heretofore solemnly entered into, with a weak and dependent people, regardless of justice and equity, — Simply, because she is numerically able to do so.[16]

This was in response to warnings that the United States Congress had come to the belief that treaties were no longer binding and that the Dawes Commission, created in 1893, would soon be in the Nation proposing to effect the extinction of Choctaw land by cession to the United States, allotment, or by any other means deemed appropriate. The Dawes Commission did indeed make its presence known in December of 1893, when it established headquarters in the Cherokee Nation and immediately began meeting with Choctaws and other native nations in what is now the eastern half of the state of Oklahoma.

In the Choctaw Nation, the Dawes Commission worked actively to effect their purpose by undermining the character of Choctaw officials, by promoting individuals favorable to allotment for office, by contributing to the further division of political opponents, by carrying on a campaign through the press of neighboring states, and by publicizing the fact that bills were being introduced in Congress which expressly abrogated treaties and placed all of the Choctaw country under federal control.

Eventually, of course, the Choctaws succumbed to the extreme political pressure and finally consented to allotment through their principal chief, Green McCurtain, who was elected to his post on the strength of a plurality (44%) provided by a political party created for the purpose of favoring individual ownership of land.

The results of the election in the fall of 1896 indicated that enough Choctaws to affect the outcome had become sufficiently convinced that private land ownership was more desirable than the traditional Choctaw arrangement. Of course, there were many other reasons Choctaws could have had for favoring allotment as well. Many likely reasoned that their successes under the Choctaw form of government would be just as fruitful under the United States government. Others probably feared that if they did not come to an agreement that the unilateral actions of the United States Congress would leave them with nothing. In any case, it is reasonably fair to conclude that the understanding of concepts of another culture was a contributor to the demise of the autonomous government of the Choctaw Nation.

So, for a good length of time, a total of sixty-seven years, bilingualism and biculturalism seems to have served the Choctaws well. And, although the transition from self-government to becoming citizens of the United States was not exactly smooth, it could have been much rougher had the Choctaws not had a good deal of experience with the institutions which would now surround them forever.

NOTES

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II

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION POLICIES: NATIONAL LEVEL

THE NATIONAL IMPACT OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION: A RENAISSANCE OF NATIVE AMERICAN CULTURE THROUGH TRIBAL SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDIAN CONTROL OF EDUCATION

Joseph C. Dupris

> We know you highly esteem the kind of learning taught in these colleges, and the maintenance of our young men, while with you, would be very expensive to you. We are convinced, therefore, that you mean to do us good by your proposal; and we thank you heartily. But you who are so wise must know that different Nations have different conceptions of things; and you will not therefore take it amiss if our ideas of this kind of education happens not to be the same with yours. We have had some experience of it. Several of our young people were formerly brought up in the Colleges of the Northern Provinces; they were instructed in all your sciences; but when they came back to us, they were bad runners; ignorant of every means of living in the woods, unable to bear either cold or hunger, knew neither how to build a cabin, take a deer, or kill an enemy, spoke our language imperfectly, were therefore neither fit for hunters, warriors, nor counsellors; they were totally good for nothing. We are, however, not in the less and to show our grateful sense of it, if the gentlemen of Virginia shall send us a dozen of their sons, we will take great care of their education, instruct them in all we know, and make men of them.
>
> (From the speech by Canassatego, a spokesman for the Iroquois, replying to an offer made in 1744 by the Virginia legislature to provide an education for six Iroquois youths at William and Mary College.)

Introduction

Multicultural education is a rather ambiguous term as it relates to American Indians, not so much in the practical application by knowledgeable practitioners and Native American tribes and communities, but in the multiple interpretations by administrative bodies in the federal, state, and local education agencies. As analyzed by the educational community, multicultural education has the dubious distinction of being on the one hand, a valuable striving towards the goal of cultural pluralism and cultural diversity and, on the other hand, being a threat to the traditional cultural values of the ethnically diverse communities.

Multicultural education has the origin and tradition that reaches back to the first contacts of individuals and tribes, much before the advent of written languages and formal institutions, for acculturating the differing groups to each other. The goal of multicultural education can be characterized as the process of learning a second, third, or more cultures in addition to one's own. Multicultural education is an adaptation and/or survival technique to situations and/or circumstances. It is different from the learning of one's own native culture, the first, and usually *only* culture taught in the normal process of growing up. The main purpose of learning about differing cultures relates to benefits derived from diverse cultures. These benefits can be placed on a continuum ranging from a treaty of mutual protection and trade to the recognition of irreconcilable differences and cultural taboos. The American educational institutions have yet, however, to comprehend the extent and essence of multicultural education. The history of education provided by the United States government and the American educational institutions to the American Indians is a prime example of the failure of multicultural education.

The mandates of the federal government to educate Indians is documented in laws, treaties and the U.S. Constitution. The consortium of institutions delegated by the government to educate Indians has achieved astonishing success for the United States and astounding failure for the Indians. The most remarkable feature of this failure is that, emanating from the wide range of philosophies and ideas of the various institutions, no definite policy on Indian education has ever been spelled out in terms understandable and acceptable to the Native American.

Once the legal status of the American Indian was revised by the United States government from being a citizen of an Indian nation within the boundaries of the United States to a "ward" of the United States government, the value of the American Indian culture was designated "dysfunctional" and thus was to be eliminated. This elimination process is exampled by the Cherokee Nation experience.

In the 19th Century when the Cherokee had control over their own bilingual schools they were 95% literate in their language. Oklahoma Cherokees had a higher English literacy level than native English speakers in either Texas or Arkansas.[1] Today, after almost 70 years of white control of schools, the Cherokee Nation presents an entirely different picture. Cherokee drop-out rates in public school run as high as 75%. The median number of school years completed by the adult Cherokee is only 5.5, and 40% of adult Cherokees are functionally illiterate. 90% of the Cherokee families living in Adair County, Oklahoma are on welfare.

This loss of parental and tribal control over the education of their children by the Cherokee Nation was not an isolated incident. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1903 typified the philosophy of federal agencies in respect to Indian Education:

> To educate the Indian in the ways of civilized life, therefore, is to preserve him from extinction, not as an Indian, but as a human being. As a separate entity he can not exist encysted, as it were, in the body of this great nation. The pressure for land must diminish his reservations to areas within which he can utilize the acres allotted to him, so that the balance may become homes for white farmers who require them. To educate the Indian is to prepare him for the abolishment of tribal relations, to take his land in severalty, and in the sweat of his brow and by the toil of his hands to carry out, as his white brother has done, a home for himself and family.[2]

This is one philosophy of Indian education that permeated the Department of Interior and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Other public and private institutions are also imbued with the same ideas; couched in different esoteric ramblings but advancing the same philosophy.

As one reads and interprets the voluminous records and reports of the various local, state and federal agencies involved in Indian education, one concept unequivocally manifests itself above all others:

> Baptize him, anglicize him, disfranchise him, steal his land in the process, and eulogize him for not complaining about it too much.[3]

When the educational systems of the Native Americans were finally abolished, a main feature of the many-faceted education endeavors was the total destruction of the native languages. This point is emphasized by the BIA school policy which reprimanded those Native American students who chose to communicate in their native tongues. This was not the only method employed to suppress the language usage. The tenacity and pervasiveness of this practice illustrates the fact that many native languages are almost extinct today. The interpretation of the terms "multicultural" and bilingual education should, therefore, represent the rejuvenation and preservation of Native American cultures and languages.

Self Determination and Multi Cultural Education

The American Indian has been denied, through governmental and institutional intervention, the right to control the "Enculturation" of their children: the process of growing up within the family and tribal environment, the learning of the tribal language, the involvement within the social structure, and the clear transmittal of a common tribal "world-view." The denial of access to the fundamental communication mechanism for the transmittal of culture, the native language and the tribal social structure, precludes multicultural education. To be multicultural the learner must first have a firm foundation in his own culture and share a common world-view. Without the base culture validation, the result of imposing another culture through "schooling" will result in coercive assimilation. This results in alienation (the inability to integrate one's self into either culture).

There must be mechanisms of control instituted within the government structure and the educational institutions to insure American Indian cultural and linguistic viability. And there must be a change in concepts of Indian education: a change from Anglo-Christian models to ideals conceptualized by Indians for Indians. The concept incorporating these required changes is "self-determination," the right and ability to control direction and purpose. In education, "equal education opportunity" is defined for American Indians as self-determination and the direction is to establish a realistically sound educational policy for Indians built on a foundation of Indian ideals and concepts significant and relevant to their future as a race, as a people, and as a culture.

In January of 1975, the United States Congress enacted the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act. This legislation validated the Indian nations' right to assume the responsibility and control of the most important services provided by the federal government without risking termination — the withdrawal of Indian nation Status — which has been a total disaster for the Indian tribes and their members. The act represents, in part, the recognition of the destructive policy of termination and the strengthening of the self-government and control of Indian education by Indian people. This statute has been augmented by the passage of the Basic Indian Education Act. Contained within the text of this act is, for the first time, a clear and undeniable federal education policy for the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the executive departments of U.S. Government. Section 1130 of the act states that:

> It shall be the policy of the Bureau, in carrying out the functions of the Bureau, to facilitate Indian control of Indian Affairs in all matters relating to education.

This policy statement has no "report language" attached to it in the legislative analysis. Therefore the interpretation of the policy must be based on the exact meaning of the legislative language as it has been written and approved. The impact of the legislative intent of the Self-Determination and Education and Assistance Act is to continue to validate the right of Indian tribes and people to govern themselves and to control the education of their own children. Thus, multicultural education has a new meaning for American Indians. Through the efforts of the tribe, the transmission of cultural identity and language can be a legitimate and funded activity within the context of Indian controlled and operated school systems. If the public and/or Bureau of Indian Affairs operated schools are not meeting the needs of the Indian nation, that group may contract directly with the federal government to establish a school system of their own.

Consequently, through the efforts of what is termed multicultural education and bilingual education, American Indians can open the doors to a re-discovery and strengthening of their tribal and individual identities. The results of these efforts will place the Indian peoples in a social and administrative position to contribute and share as responsible elements in the American society.

Overview Of Bilingual Education As Related To American Indians

Traditional bilingual education has, for the most part, encouraged the omnipresent philosophy of assimilation, even as it recognized the value and importance of different cultures and languages. The essence of this approach is born by the fact that only standard written or spoken languages are given any educational credence. This is emphasized by a Department of Health, Education and Welfare regulation which reads:

> There is instruction given in, and study of English and (to the extent necessary to allow a child to effectively progress through the educational system) the native or dominate language of the children of limited English-speaking ability.[4]

This paragraph sets the tone, insofar as the federal commitment is concerned, and the interpretation to bilingual education in general. Upon preliminary examination, the regulation limits to a large degree participation by many Native Americans. This is emphasized by the fact that, although there are some 275,000 Indian students K-12 enrolled in the U.S. educational system,[5] there are a negligible number of formal bilingual education programs (approximately twenty-five). To bring this situation into sharper focus, there are some 30,000 Native American students in Oklahoma and only three formal bilingual education programs. Pragmatic approaches to bilingual education presently hinges upon a written, standard, "proficiently" spoken language.

There are a number of Title IV (i.e., The Indian Education Act of 1972) Indian education programs which address culture and language to a very limited degree. The limitation of these programs lies in federal stipulations with regard to segregation, and Department of Health, Education and Welfare regulations.

Johnson O'Malley (or Section II of the Indian Education Act of 1972) monies are available to a varying degree to those public schools on or adjacent to Indian reservations. But those tribes who are in a position to utilize these funds in innovative linguistic, educational approaches have constraints placed upon them. These constraints usually are embodied within "state plan" regulations. For those schools operating without state plans, the result is a parasitical effect on Johnson O'Malley funds. In essence, programmatic and fiscal limitations dictate that other avenues for approaching bilingual education should be explored.

In the natural progression of bilingual educational endeavors, staff training and the availability of those trained personnel becomes an ever increasing concern to local and state education agencies, not to mention the Indian community concerns. In working with various groups we are forced, when asked to recommend personnel and especially those institutions who train such personnel, to explain that there are virtually no Native American individuals available to train personnel. The inappropriateness of this situation is magnified when the number of Native American students enrolled in institutions of higher education (approximately 30,000) is taken into consideration.

Another facet of bilingual education is that of materials development. There are a number of language materials development centers catering to the Spanish speaking people and their programs. There are only two centers, however, involved in materials development for Native Americans. One is the Native American Materials Development Center located in Albuquerque, New Mexico. The other is the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory in Portland, Oregon.

The output of these two centers is laudable. Yet their scope in terms of the number of tribes covered leaves much to be desired. At the Albuquerque center, ninety percent of the materials developed are Navajo oriented. In the case of the Northwest Lab Center, some twelve tribes benefit. How many tribes remain unserved? Approximately three hundred. The scope of these centers' efforts are dictated by need and geographical location. Thus, what is illustrated here is that there simply are not enough Native American materials development centers.

Multicultural education that validates the differing cultures and strengthens the Native American language and world view is essential. This needs to be made clear in no uncertain terms to the Office of Bilingual Education, to the BIA, and to state education agencies. In providing technical assistance to Indian tribes and organizations there needs to be a coordinated effort to plan, train and implement bilingual education programs, and fuse them into a predictable, cohesive educational process. In the current situation, the Equal Education Opportunity Office and the Office for Civil Rights appear to be the only two agencies that coordinate such efforts. Once coordination has taken place, however, there appears to be a need to establish specific areas needing attention. The focus of bilingual/multicultural education efforts must be clearly defined. The catalyst for both of these situations appears to be the *lack* of understanding of the requirements under the *Lau v. Nichols* case, and the awareness that all tribes and languages are significantly different.

Specific Problems

As has been stated, the number of Indian students enrolled in public schools versus the number of bilingual programs is disproportionate. This is a very basic problem. Given the various numbers of tribes and students, there is, at the present time, an absence of relevant assessment tools by which a specific native language can be measured in terms of proficiency. Educational agencies do not take into consideration (1) the student's first acquired language, (2) the language most often spoken in the home, and (3) the language most often spoken by the student. These factors must be weighed together and not separately. The fact that this is not being done leads into another area of concern which is the problem of disassociating the school and home.

As we are all aware, most public schools are structured along white middle class mores. When Indian students come into the public school systems the values that they learned and practiced at home are more or less swept under the rug. This practice is, in most instances, realized in classrooms by teachers with lower middle class or middle class backgrounds. The idea of associating the classroom and home is succinctly illustrated by Clyde Kluckhohn, late professor of anthropology at Harvard, in a chapter entitled "Queer Customs" in his book *Mirror for Man*. In the chapter, Kluckhohn discusses the concept of culture in the content of biological and individual variations. All people are born with certain basic biological drives and problems, but how these drives are satisfied shows tremendous variation between and within communities. The teacher of the culturally different child must learn that differences among people in the same group are idiosyncratic and the subject of psychology, but that different cultural groups are the subject of anthropology.

One important aspect of culture discussed by Kluckhohn is the interrelatedness of different culture traits. For example, if people change their economic activities they will have to make some adjustment in their social life to allow for the new schedule; or if people change their religious beliefs they will in all likelihood need to adjust their child training practices to accommodate the new ethical ideas. Serious problems can result to Indian young people who have the traditional value system which emphasizes contributions to the community, but the only economic enterprises (jobs) available relies on a desire for personal gain to motivate work performance. The basic message for teachers in Kluckhohn's essay should be that cultural differences are real and legitimate and cannot be divorced from the language influence. Further, while this may be a general philosophy, it is not filtering down to the specific classroom teachers whose students reflect different cultural and linguistic traits.

This pervasive lack of understanding of the Native American cultures and languages has perpetuated a belief that nothing can be done to arrest the miserable academic statistics of Native Americans. Undeniably this is consistent with the constrictive philosophy and regulations regarding bilingual education which have been discussed above.

A spinoff of this condition associated with the lack of bilingual programs is the virtual absence of maintenance and restoration language programs. This situation is scrutinized in a 1969 Department of Labor Study, conducted under the auspices of then Attorney General Robert Kennedy. The results of the study were published in a report entitled "Indian Education: A National Tragedy; A National Challenge."[7]

The four major points brought out in this report are:

1) 25% of teachers surveyed stated that they would rather not teach Indian students at all;
2) the miserable academic failure of Indian students;
3) the horrendous dropout rate — 40% average, and 100% in some areas; and
4) the looking-glass attitudes of children interviewed were in most cases bad (that is, the students expressed very little self worth).

The report further notes that coercive assimilation has been the main factor behind the negative conclusions. Indian community and parental involvement in the development and operation of public education programs for Indian children is one remedy. However, connected with this is the fear among Indian parents that they, because of their inability to verbalize with school personnel, will be looked upon as a source of amusement rather than a resource. It would seem from a rational standpoint that maintenance and restoration of languages would, if nothing else, circumvent the negative assimilation repercussions plus involve the parents in the educational process as sound educational practice dictates. This gives rise to the notion that if sound education is enhanced by bilingual education, then maintenance and restoration language models serve to fortify this practice.

In the area of personnel, certain glaring realities are evident also from the report. The number of certified teachers in school districts with large Native American enrollments is not commensurate with the percentage of Indian students. The metropolitan areas listed below are some examples:

Rapid City, South Dakota
Billings, Montana
Anadarko, Oklahoma
Tulsa, Oklahoma[8]

The lack of training for teachers in bilingual education was also noted. The report found that:

(a) No undergraduate programs leading to a bachelor's degree in bilingual education are available.
(b) Only colleges which serve large Indian populations (e.g., University of South Dakota) have Indian studies courses.
(c) Only one university offers a post graduate degree in bilingual education (i.e., University of Oklahoma Doctoral), and that program has only five students.

Additionally, most of the programs in the LAU Center Federal Region VIII administrative service area have limited cultural components; there are no teacher training programs at the district level (In these situations there is a two-pronged effort by the resource centers such as the LAU Center and School Districts usually in the form of in-service workshops); and random assessments have indicated that Native American teacher training is virtually non-existent. These facts, coupled with the large enrollment of Native American students in schools, suggest a dire need for the training of Native American bilingual teachers.

Solutions to the bilingual education problem are at best piecemeal, insofar as training of teachers is concerned. The need exists and the development of resources must be addressed. Yet looking at the situation for facilitating the training of personnel to maintain and restore languages the prospects are even more bleak. At present land-grant institutions of higher education which have received funds to teach Native American students are even less aware of the need, but it is obvious they must give priority to this need if the training of bilingual (maintenance and restoration of language) personnel is to be realized.

As far as materials development is concerned, there are two pitfalls: First, there simply are not enough material development centers, as discussed earlier. And secondly, once a bilingual program is funded, there is not enough money in the budget for materials development. The tragedy is compounded because the limited monies that are available are being used not for basic content materials but for supplemental ones which are limited in scope and content and often run the risk of duplication among programs within a region. How does one teach without proper tools? It's like asking a carpenter to build a house without a hammer and nails. It is no less true of a teacher with regards to materials.

The Future Impact of Multicultural Education: A Closing Statement

The past practices of isolation and cultural destruction which have traditionally characterized educational policy at the national level need to be discarded. New definitions need to be adopted, based on the reality of the American Indian. The term "bilingual education" for example, requires a necessary expansion. It needs to incorporate the language and culture of the Indian as integral components.

With the commitment of the federal government to promote Indian control of education and the subsequent realignment of definitions and interpretations for Indian people, the future direction of multicultural education for Indian tribes and people has to be viewed as one of innovation and renaissance. With this in mind, there should be major expenditures of energy and funds in the restoration and maintenance of the Native American languages. In order to achieve this goal, great emphasis should be on teacher training centers to service the educational needs of the Indian nations.

NOTES

1. *Harvard Journal of Legislation* 9 (1972): 260-65.
2. *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1903. Indian Affairs* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1904), pp. 2-3.
3. Birgil Kills Straight, in unpublished hearings before the Indian Policy Review Commission, Task Force Five: Indian Education.
4. H.E.W. Title VII E.S.E.A. Rules and Regulations, 02 (g) (1) (i), p. 123.
5. "The American Indian in School," *H.E.W. Bulletin* 13 (January 1973).
6. Clyde Kluckhohn, *Mirror for Man: The Relation of Anthropology to Modern Life* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1949), pp. 17-44.
7. U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, "Indian Education: A National Tragedy, A National Challenge," (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969). (91st Cong., 1st Sess., S.R. 91-501).
8. Data obtained from Center for Cross Cultural Education Data, Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards, Inc., Denver, Colorado.

NATIONAL PATTERNS IN CONTEMPORARY INDIAN STUDIES PROGRAM

Ward Churchill

During the past two decades it has become somewhat fashionable for U.S. colleges and universities to develop what has come to be known as "Minority Studies Programs." The minority in question may be Black, Chicano, Oriental, Native American or, preferably, some combination of these (there has even been semi-serious discourse on establishing such things as Serbo-Croatian and Polish Minority Programs as this trend develops fad contours). Such developments have roughly coincided with large and often militant social movements on the part of the racial/ethnic groups and may be seen, to a great extent, as conscious efforts on the part of European institutions to co-opt the social demands of non-Europeans. The cost in terms of social disadvantages experienced by the overall Native American community has been dramatic.[1]

As a mechanism to confuse social issues and priorities, these programs have been amazingly effective. As educational developments, however, they are largely transparent devotion to posture and gloss at the expense of scholarly content. Created to serve rather non-academic needs, they tend to share several major programatic flaws which may be illuminated as follows:

1) The very concept of minority studies as a separate discipline creates an aura of isolation around the department thus established. The school becomes an institution of "white studies"; non-white studies are separate entities attached to the corpus. It seems not to have occurred to most white academics that non-whites have a perfectly valid, if ignored, status *within* all curriculum content areas. The logical function of a Minority Studies Department (or any of its components) should be the development and monitoring of such inclusion.

2) It is virtually impossible to establish a curriculum body to accompany an academic unit intended as a Minority Studies Department. All racial groups are culturally diverse; Japanese are as different from Chinese as Swedes are from Italians or Oglalas are from Hurons. Such realities seem to have eluded white thinkers who would under no circumstances advocate the teaching of a white studies curriculum as such (read: cultural arrogance).

3) Minority studies programs are drastically understaffed considering the nature of the tasks assigned to them. Worse, personnel trained traditional white disciplines are often the least qualified to teach needed subject matter while the most qualified individuals lack requisite degrees for hiring under usual college and university policy guidelines.

Concerning Native American students, there has been a marked tendency in academia to consider them as "just another minority." No national recognition of any special educational status has been evident, little study has been made of special problems shared by Indian students,[2] and too little effort has been exerted to include Indians within the developmental stages of Indian curriculum concepts.

Overall, little has been accomplished to offset the dismal history of elementary and secondary education for this population group. Cultural divergencies have often been ignored ("education is education, for everybody") or inappropriately dealt with. Expectations placed upon Indian students have often been unrealistic, especially in terms of demanding that they be well versed in the intricacies of Euro culture while being faced with a wall of ignorance concerning their own heritage. Remedial education projects are often viewed as a "hinderance" to higher education processes. Unsurprisingly, attrition rates among participating Indians have been high.

What is more surprising is that many students have "toughed it out," collected the requisite degrees, and proceeded to attempt to alter the situation from within.[3] Other capable, intelligent students have dropped out of higher education only to resurface as leaders of militant social movements such as the American Indian Movement (AIM) and/or to establish alternatives to the educational models which abused them.[4] Such agitation by activists and other external forces has helped foster further ventures into Indian projects by colleges and universities. A look at some specific programs may aid in assessing the contemporary situation.

The Conservative Aversion

When one thinks of Indian Education there is an all but automatic reflex to think simultaneously of "Indian Country." Nowhere better fits this description than South Dakota, land of moviedom's Indian archtype, the Sioux. It is home also of Black Hills State College (BHSC), located in Spearfish, seat of an Indian Studies Center since 1969.

Despite the fact that South Dakota exhibits one of the highest Native to non-Native population ratios in the U.S. (approximately 50,000 Indians balanced against an overall population barely exceeding 600,000 in 1975),[5] BHSC has never enrolled more than one hundred thirty (130) Indian students.[6] Although the Center is relatively well funded,[7] it is housed administratively under both the Departments of Education and Sociology. The program retains a full-time staff of nine (9), of whom only one (1) holds full faculty status although most are Indian. An impressive array of some thirty-two (32) courses is generated, but school policy restricts degree granting to the Associate of Arts level.

A major factor playing into administrative restrictiveness (which limits the Center's potential) seems to be a basic academic insecurity. Mediocrity and conformity to pre-existing "standards" are enforced through incestuous hiring patterns,[8] faculty contract stipulations requiring conformity to "community standards," and a top-down" control of curriculum content.[9] In capsule, the school staunchly resists anything intellectually new (read: threatening to the *status quo*). Innovation will not be tolerated or, if unavoidable, at least minimized and contained.

Such an institutional posture has, oddly, had the hidden advantage of underwriting an "Extension Program" on the part of the Indian Studies Center. Insofar as it has proven difficult to bring larger numbers of students on campus, the staff has opted to carry course content (and often, credit hours) to the Native community. Such locations as Loneman School and Oglala Community College on the Pine Ridge Reservation and points on the Rosebud and Cheyenne River Sioux Reservations are utilized. These efforts have been somewhat successful, particularly in such endeavors as remedial upgrading of basic skills.[10] However, it should be acknowledged that such success centers directly on the determined performance of staff members such as Lowell Amiotte and Ray Howe (both Sioux). No change in the academic climate denoted above is observable at the BHSC campus.

A Native Remedy

It is undeniable that patterns of educational performance such as those evident in South Dakota have given rise to community colleges located in reservation areas and which are Indian run, mostly Indian staffed, and primarily attended by Indians. Outstanding examples of this trend are Oglala Community College (Pine Ridge), Sinte Gleska College (Rosebud), and Navajo Community College (Navajo Reservation). These schools are very recent developments; and with the possible exception of Navajo Community College, they are too new to offer fruitful ground for analysis. About all that can be safely stated at this point is that they are in the process of establishing parallel curriculum structures (with content alternatives) to those existing in white institutions, and that they are holding their own. Such models may be expected to see increased utilization in the future barring some unforeseen turnabout in the operations of other existing colleges and universities.

The Quasi-Academic Approach

A type of minority and/or Native American model offered by assorted institutions over the past decade has been along the lines of Educational Opportunity Programs (EOPs). In this connection, the example offered by the University of Colorado at Boulder may prove illuminating.

The EOPs at C.U. were established (on "hard money" budget allocations) in the late 60s as an institutional response to substantial student unrest related to a number of issues, of which "minority problems" was construed as holding special relevance. Ultimately, the specific programs created were United Mexican American Students (UMAS/EOP), Asian American EOP, American Indian EOP, Black Education Program (BEP) and Migrant Action Program. These were grouped as a specialized wing or department of the University and an Assistant Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs position was created through which overall leadership of the EOPs could be exerted and administrative parity with the rest of the institutional bureaucracy maintained.

Black and Chicano Studies programs were established as such during the early 70s. However, these have tended to develop separately from the EOPs. Native American and Asian American Studies programs have never been activated. Therefore, it is obvious that no integrated programatic development of minority curriculum has been possible (the concept is duly resisted by resident academicians, the EOP Vice Chancellorship notwithstanding). The campus role of the EOPs has gravitated to that of providing non-academic services such as counseling and social cohesion/organization to the respective minority student populations. Top level institutional support for the creation of full-scale viable academic units within the minority context has never been evident.

Such academic posture as the EOPs have been able to develop and maintain has centered directly on a "pre-collegiate" summer institute designed to bring incoming minority freshman students up to adequate levels in such areas as English and Reading (including English as second language components), Math and Study Skills. Controlled classes in such subject areas are continued into the freshman year as needed and tutoring is offered on an individualized basis. UMAS/EOP in particular has extended such services from the campus into its home community. But it is clear that, on balance, the academic thrust of the EOP potential has been diverted almost exclusively into what is usually termed "remedial" education, while monolithic "White Studies" continues at C.U. as the normative standard.

In the face of mounting opposition from traditional academic departments to the granting of college credit for the EOP style of instruction, there is talk of formal conversion of the programs from academic to student service bodies. But even the latter possibility is currently being undercut as Financial Aids at C.U. has recently actualized a policy of awards which recognize "no special disadvantage" as being incurred by minority student applicants. Thus, the student base composing the EOPs is in serious jeopardy of being economically forced into attendance at other, more realistic universities.

Currently, under the direction of Norbert S. Hill, Jr. (Oneida), American Indian EOP is responding to pressure by initiating a science institute for pre-collegiate Native American youth which is designed to combine the Euro technological approach with traditional Native views. The plan has been temporarily funded by the Foundation for Improvement of Post Secondary Education (FIPSE) and has attracted the attention of the Council of Energy Resource Tribes (CERT). Thus, the long term development of an integrated curriculum may be feasible. However, whether substantial institutional support will be forthcoming remains an open question.

The EOP experience at C.U. demonstrates the need to articulate the academic mission(s) of Native American or other minority programs prior to, or at the time, of their establishment. Attempts to formulate initial academic orientation from the position of ongoing programs is, in a sense, putting the cart before the horse. Resultant confusion can very well serve to lend a veneer of credibility to institutional moves to diminish or eliminate such programs altogether: "We *did* try it, but it didn't work out."

The Liberal Twist

Another sort of program evident of late occurred at Sangamon State University (SSU) during the period 1971-75. In this instance, Native American subject matter was incorporated with a package denoted as "Public Affairs" Colloquia" (PAC) and attached as a required course structure to "Clusters" (i.e., Humanities Cluster, Science Cluster, etc.). This unusual configuration resulted from SSU's being a more or less experimental Governor's Grant school designed to attract the "best and the brightest" of Illinois "hip" upper level and graduate students. That Illinois is popularly considered both a "liberal" and "non-Indian" state[11] also has bearing in this instance. But the model under consideration here has seen widespread application nationally, local peculiarities notwithstanding.

The thrust of SSU's operation was to discharge its loudly proclaimed commitment to minorities by establishing a departmentless curriculum of minority oriented PAC courses which would evolve into a Minority Affairs Cluster over a period of several years.[12] Toward this alleged end a white faculty member, Walter Kimmel,[13] was hired as an Assistant Professor (Communications) to double as a teacher of advanced and electronic music as well as the party charged with handling Indian curriculum on campus.

Over a four (4) year period, however, it became increasingly evident that Kimmel's persistence in dealing with topical (as opposed to historical/anthropological) Indian subject matter was a source of friction with the university administration. This was true despite the fact that he was directly charged with teaching in an academic unit theoretically designed to deal only with contemporary issues. With neither tenure nor an acutal Minority Affairs structure to render support, he became a symbol of general academic content censure. In a situation clearly similar to the South Dakota *modus operandi* (in practice, if not in stated policy), Kimmel was terminated and Indian curriculum abandoned.[14]

The SSU example demonstrates the fallacy of accepting institutional image in the face of practical reality. While the "liberal" SSU may proceed in a more sophisticated fashion than a "conservative" BHSC, the net result is of no more advantage to Indian students. In fact, the South Dakota example has yielded to the needs of the Native community to a much greater extent than has the Illinois school although the numerical populations to be served are nearly equal. SSU indicates the need for a structural commitment to Indian programs rather than glib rhetorical sop concerning the "plight of our minorities." In the latter circumstances, minority projects are as perpetually threatened by budgetary slicing as are POWs threatened with starvation should their captor's supply lines be cut.

Lines of Continuity

Of course, there are brighter spots about the country. The University of Minnesota at Minneapolis has an enrollment of some four hundred (400) Indian students at both undergraduate and graduate levels. Departmental status is accorded Indian Studies and both the B.A. and M.A. degrees are offered while an interdisciplinary emphasis is observable. A full-time staff of twelve (12), including Russell Thorton (Cherokee), develop innovative contemporary courses from the basis of a tried and true curriculum body. The major problem experienced within the program seems to be student attrition, a circumstance which may well result from lack of a remedial education project for incoming freshmen as well as a tendency to over-recruit.

The University of Nebraska at Lincoln has fewer retention problems, but the program there (housed under the Ethnic Studies Department) recruits fewer students and offers a full remedial battery. Compensation for primary/secondary deficiencies seems to pay off in terms of student success rates. Another major enhancement to Nebraska is the University of Nebraska Press which has, since the tenure of Mari Sandoz, sought to deal sympathetically and prolificly with Native Americans. The press aspect of the University of Nebraska is shared, to an even greater extent, by the University of Oklahoma at Norman. It would seem, however, that both institutions lean substantially on historical/anthropological/archeological material. This would effectively prevent them from providing their full potential service to Native American students. The problem is hardly uncommon. It would seem that a substantial enough base has been laid here to warrant increased recruiting efforts, expansion of the existing curricula, and upgrading the program to department status. However, according to Director Webster Robbins (Cherokee), such events are unlikely in the immediate future.

The Indian Studies Center at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque seems to have solved certain problems noted above. Under the leadership of Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz (Cheyenne),[15] the Center Director and Larry Emerson (Navajo), the Associate Director, the program has initiated an ambitious publications project concerned entirely with contemporary Native American issues. The first title produced, *Economic Development in American Indian Reservations*, has proven a mixed success, but points the way to a very positive development in university generated "Indian Studies" publications.

These programs, while exhibiting marked contrasts in approach, seem to be dealing more effectively with the needs of their Native American students than other types examined (with the probable exception of the three Indian colleges described above). The reasons for this are not immediately apparent, but must reflect a genuine administrative accommodation to the idea of Indian Studies. This would correspond to the fact that the schools began to develop Indian curriculum internally long before the radical/liberal facade of the 1960s became fashionable (a factor which, in itself, corresponds neatly with the historical/anthropological bias exhibited at most of them).

It should be noted that these programs are by-products of large schools located in urban settings. While such programs are obviously quite acceptable for a number of Indian students, it is equally true that another body of students comes from a reservation background virtually demanding smaller, more intimate schools in rural or semi-rural environments. And these, alas, are both the students who have demonstrated the greatest need for viable programmatic assistance, and the schools least inclined to provide it. There is, however, at least one major exception to the latter.

The Germ of Potential

Perhaps the oldest ongoing program for the higher education of Native Americans in the United States is located at Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire. Originally established as a British Crown land grant school for the "Christianizing" and "civilizing" of tribes indigenous to that area of North America claimed as English colonies, Dartmouth has contributed its fair share to the process of grinding up Indian identity.

Current circumstances, however, indicate a drastic revision of the academic attitudes prevailing there. Indian Studies, while still a smallish entity within the totality of a university, enjoys full departmental status, offers both undergraduate and graduate degrees, and retains a full-time staff of five (5). An advisory board utilizes the services of eight (8) Indians and three (3) non-Indians in matters related to administrative and curriculum decisions.

Under Director Michael Dorris (Modoc) an Artist in Residence Program has brought major Native painters such as Fritz Scholder and T.C. Cannon to campus since 1970. Both graduate and undergraduate curriculums are enhanced by internships available in such locals as Choctaw, Mississippi and Passamaquody, Maine (both in Legal Aid); Museum of the American Indian (Museology, Anthropology, Archeology); and New Hampshire Public Television (Media Production) among others. A full-time counselor, David Bonga (Chippewa), assists students with the array of options.

The essential concept employed at Dartmouth is retention and gradual expansion of a small (45 current students), manageable program size coupled to planned academic diversity with full weight given contemporary affairs and skills. The degrees in Indian Studies are combined with an interdepartmental stance which prevents program isolation from the "mainstream." Native students are thus able to participate in a variety of disciplinary options without sacrificing their cultural makeup. Their white peers are simultaneously allowed the opportunity to actually learn something of the reality of America's Native heritage.

While by no means perfect, the Dartmouth model appears well conceived, stable (though growing), and quite well adapted to its environment. Insofar as this is true, it stands as the exemplary project of the 1970s for the higher education of Native Americans. It is possibly the only program to have developed directly from an internal recognition of its many false starts without being swept into the rhetorical vortex of the 1960s and subsequent political backlash.

It might be hoped that such a model will be utilized on a wider scale (with appropriate modifications) and interinstitutionally. Perhaps, in the latter instance, it might provide the basis for a belated recognition of the special Treaty status of Native American students as Federal citizens. A corresponding elimination of "in-state/out-of-state" enrollment (and tuition) classifications would greatly enhance the access of such students to higher education, increasing participation both in terms of numbers and feasible duration of study. Such a combination might finally provide the sort of stability of Indian Education which has proven so historically lacking.

NOTES:

1. Education related problems currently prevailing within the national Native American Community are uniformly the most severe of any U.S. population group. For a statistical profile, see Ward Churchill and Norbert S. Hill, Jr., "Patterns in Indian Education at the University Level After 1960," *Handbook of the American Indian, Vol. II, Contemporary Native Americans,* Vine Deloria, Jr., ed., Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 1980.
2. Notable exceptions to this statement may be found in: *Alienation and Achievement Among Oglala Sioux Secondary School Students,* Bernard Spilka, 1970 (Eric Ed 045 255); *Cognitive Strengths of Eskimos and Implications for Education,* Judith S. Kleinfield, November, 1970 (Eric Ed 045 281).
3. A case in point here is that of Jerome Buckanaga (White Earth Chippewa) who succeeded as the first Indian graduate of Moorehead State College (Minnesota) with a B.A. in Education during the mid-1960's. His credentials were found wanting in terms of teaching at his home town school (Pine Point, Minnesota) and he thereupon proceeded to secure an M.A. in Educational Administration from Harvard. Upon returning home, he was told he was overqualified to work at the school. He subsequently led a protest campaign which caused the closing of the school and allowed him to establish an alternative, The Pine Point Experimental School, in the original building. The school continues to operate after eleven years.
4. For example, Ted Means, a noted AIM activist, became involved in the movement as a two-year college drop-out. He has been instrumental in establishing "We Will Remember School" in Rapid City, S.D., an alternative educational model for Indians cast out by the public schools there. The heavy emphasis on Native culture and heritage has proven successful among these students and the school itself was relocated to the town of Porcupine on the Pine Ridge Sioux Reservation in 1977.
5. This ratio is derived from contrasting BIA population figures to state population figures claimed at Pierre, S.D. in 1975.
6. Some portion of the reason for low Native student turn-out in South Dakota is that, despite the fact that the bulk of the state's land mass is composed of territory expropriated from the Sioux in direct disregard of the (1868) Ft. Laramie Treaty, the state makes no educational commitment (also included as a Treaty provision) to Indians — not even to the extent of tuition waivers at existing institutions.
7. Reported cash flow levels for 1978 include over $141,000 in BIA funding and

nearly $32,000 in work/study funding. State and local level funding commitments are nil.

8. According to the 1975-1976 *Black Hills State College Directory*, more than sixty-five percent (65%) of all faculty and staff employed by the school had also graduated from it.
9. To quote the Chairman of the Fine Arts Department, Dr. Victor Widensee, "If I don't understand it, it should not be taught to the students."
10. Such an emphasis may be viewed as flying in the face of standard institutional policy. Dean of Students, Marc Bosin, summed up the schools' outlook when he stated to the author in 1975, "The quality of students emerging from secondary education around here is not such that they can be expected to cope with intellectual material at the university level." Such a position is intended to justify BHSC's "deintellectualizing" of course content, but neatly fails to acknowledge that the school's primary mandate has always been to turn out the teachers (it was founded as a Normal School) who turn out the ill-equipped students.
11. The "Indian/non-Indian state" dichotomy is a figment of contemporary mythology. According to the 1970 U.S. Census, Chicago alone had a Native population exceeding 40,000. Thus, Illinois' Indian population exceeds that of such "Indian States" as Wyoming, Colorado, Nebraska and Nevada.
12. The actual stance of the University Administration in relation to Minority Affairs may be assessed in view of the 1973 statement of then Vice President of Academic Affairs, John Keyser, "SSU provides an alternative for Blacks to writing on walls in East St. Louis." That such a statement is in line with the worst elements of academic bigotry goes without saying. What says much more is that Keyser has since left SSU to accept the presidency of Boise St. College, Boise, Idaho.
13. Kimmel, at that time, had been recently terminated at Moorehead St. College, Morehead, Minn., for supposed budgetary reasons. It was widely felt that his advocacy of Indian rights was more germane to the case. As a music teacher, his credentials include two (2) bronze medals for film scores at the Cannes Film Festival. After leaving SSU, he became a teacher at the Pine Point Experimental (Indian) School on the White Earth Chippewa Reservation.
14. Although the reasons advanced for non-renewal of Kimmel's contract varied during the process, "budgetary considerations" seems to have been used most frequently. The university was unable to show nonperformance, misconduct, etc. The specifics eventually came to involve the inability of the university to purchase a synthesizer for the conducting of electronic music courses (although such purchase was an agreed precondition to Kimmel's hiring). During the period of this inability, the university somehow managed to allocate millions to new construction, grounds keeping, and administrative conference attendance, among other things.
15. Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz is the author of the very excellent, *The Great Sioux Nation*, Moon Books, San Francisco, 1977.

III

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION POLICIES: LOCAL LEVEL

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION: IMPLICATIONS FOR AMERICAN INDIAN PEOPLE

Frederic R. Gunsky

Many years ago I wrote about "School Problems of Indian Youth" in a State publication. The following were among the problems mentioned:

1. Separation and isolation, which reinforce a negative self-image.
2. Difficulty, at least in some communities, in bringing children into contact with Indian adult role models who can motivate them educationally.
3. Lack of preparation by teachers to understand and appreciate Indian children, their families and their life styles.
4. Stereotypes and discriminatory attitudes and behaviors evidenced by non-Indians, including teachers.
5. Ignorance on the part of educators as well as others regarding Indian traditions, values and achievements, resulting in a failure to respect Indian heritage and to include it in crosscultural teaching.

Every one of those items remains a serious barrier to the full participation of Indian students in the benefits of public education. And there are other obstacles which have not been overcome, at least for many Indian students.

I do not have a panacea to cure all the ills of education, which are the ills of society itself. What I am going to present is not a complete answer to the nagging questions of centuries of dishonor and inequity for the Native American people. Nevertheless, it is a new phase of educational development in California and the United States and other countries, and it is worth examining for its relevance to Indians and the society of which they are a part.

Its name is multicultural education. And what is that?

A member of the faculty at this university campus recently outlined four programmatic approaches now employed in multicultural education in the United States. As briefly as I can restate them, they are:

1. *Education of the culturally different*, which is essentially compensatory in nature, and assumes that minority children come from "deficit" home environments. Multicultural education then tries to increase the compatibility between home and school and thus raise student achievement.
2. *Education about cultural differences*, which aims at the enrichment of *all* students, minority and mainstream, by introducing them to the lifeways of various cultures and nationalities. The intent is to decrease prejudice, parochialism, racism and stereotyping, by promoting "understanding" rather than specific interpersonal skills.
3. *Education for cultural pluralism*, seeking educational and eventual social parity for minority groups. It rejects assimilation and strengthens group boundaries. Such a program of cultural pluralism would include community-based direction, greater use of local or ethnic teachers to reinforce group role models, and culture-specific materials and tests.
4. *Bicultural education*, with the goal of producing students who can function in more than one culture. Here multicultural education reinforces the identity of all students, minority and mainstream, while at the same time imparting linguistic, social and academic skills that allow the student to perform competently in a variety of settings. The aim is acculturation without assimilation.

It is my impression that most of what goes by the name of multicultural education in our schools is of the second type, that is, education about cultural differences, although in some schools where there are many students of one or another minority group there is a heavy emphasis on ethnic studies which are basically compensatory for students of those groups.

There is nothing wrong with education about cultural differences. We need to promote understanding and appreciation of the diversity and the traditions and character of lifeways of various cultures and nationalities. We need to decrease prejudice, parochialism, racism and stereotyping.

But that kind of approach, often relying on filmstrips, stories, plays, dances and other second-hand experiences — if not on oversimplified foods, holiday observances, and heroes — doesn't go far enough and may even nourish stereotypes. Some schools and school districts are following the lead of the State Department of Education and State Board of Education by developing and implementing a different brand of multicultural education.

What I am going to give is an overview of multicultural education as we now describe it, and as we hope to persuade most schools to implement it. And then, when you know what we mean by that kind of education, I am going to relate how it may help solve some of the problems of Indian students and Indian people generally.

The approach of the State Department of Education's *Guide for Multicultural Education — Content and Context,* and of the State Board of Education's policy statement on multicultural education, adopted last April, includes aspects of several of the varieties I outlined earlier for you. It includes education about cultural differences. It aims at developing each student's identity and self-esteem, respect and acceptance of others, but it aims much higher and much deeper.

I have been working as a consultant and colleague with a steering committee of teachers and others in one of the administrative areas of the Los Angeles Unified School District in a pilot program to get this comprehensive kind of multicultural education into operation. One of our products is a brochure, "Seven Keys to Understanding Multicultural Education."

Multicultural education in this concept is not a separate subject or component. It is not just tacos or origami or Dr. Martin Luther King's birthday or a feather headdress at the Thanksgiving feast. It is a multicultural approach to the entire school experience, symbolized in a series of concentric circles. At the center is the student, who is to acquire multicultural concepts, skills, values, and personal and social behaviors.

The seven keys to that purpose can be shown in seven circles around the center. They are:

1. Understanding culture.
2. Cross-cultural studies.
3. Valuing similarities and differences.
4. Interdisciplinary approaches.
5. Interpersonal and intergroup skills.
6. Experiences in varied settings.
7. A teaching and learning process.

Finally, surrounding the seven key concepts and conditions, are the all-inclusive aspects of the educational system: curriculum and instruction; staff development; school organization; community; and co-curricular activities.

As you see, it is the whole ball of wax. We are talking about education that is multicultural, about a teaching and learning style, about coloring the curriculum, the instruction, and the program multicultural.

We are not, on the other hand, talking about starting from scratch in a whole set of textbooks, lesson plans and teaching machines. Some teachers have been promoting multicultural learning for years, using State-adopted textbooks, supplementary materials that are not too hard to find, and whatever else was at hand. Others have not been doing those things very well or at all. The seven keys above are to unlock the system so that teachers and other adults feel free to use existing methods and materials for shared learning about culture, about diversity, about similarities and differences — in a climate and atmosphere of acceptance which encourages the development of interpersonal and intergroup living skills. The student in a school practicing this approach would learn such concepts as self, lifestyle, culture, changes in individuals and groups, cultural contact as an agent in change, personal heritage, similarities and differences among individuals and groups, competence, occupational diversity, stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination.

He or she would acquire such values as self-esteem, appreciation of self and others, respect for the values, dignity and worth of self and others, respect for similarities and differences, acceptance of cultural pluralism, acceptance of diversity of lifestyles, desire to bring about equity and reduce stereotypes, and positive attitude toward school and life.

He or she would develop such skills as analyzing the influen· of heritage, analyzing similarities and differences, distinguishing between myths, stereotypes and facts, recognizing prejudiced behavior, identifying biases in media, interpreting personal heritage, clarifying personal values, and using skills of conflict resolution.

He or she would demonstrate behaviors, personal and social, such as working to reduce inequities, confronting prejudiced behavior, cooperating with diverse others, using community persons as resources, using persons in the school as resources, working to resolve conflicts, participating and involving others in the life of the school, and using interpersonal skills.

Is that pie in the sky? Perhaps, but if we can't move in that direction, and have at least a slice of that pie — in this generation and the next — our pluralistic society is going to continue to be in trouble. It is getting less pluralistic and more divided every day.

Suppose we could agree, for our purposes, that a comprehensive variety of multicultural education — interdisciplinary crosscultural, strongly effective, and aiming to improve human relations skills —

is conceivable and practical. If education were to become multicultural, what would that mean for Native American people?

First, if we go back to the problems I mentioned at the beginning, what would multicultural education do to reduce the separation and isolation of Indian young people, which often reinforce a negative self-image? In California, except for a small number of rural schools, American Indian students are never the majority. Multicultural education certainly would help to improve peer and teacher attitudes, identify and reduce stereotypes, and enable both students and staff to accept and appreciate differences in individuals, families, traditions and lifestyles. The isolation of minorities is a two-way street, of course. We might assume that Indian students themselves, as well as their peers and teachers, need multicultural education of the kind I have been discussing. It would free them to function better, in school and out, if it were effective in developing interpersonal and intergroup relations skills and in promoting the idea that this society can be truly pluralistic.

The second problem is the difficulty of bringing children into contact with Indian adult role models who can motivate them educationally. I believe some progress has been made in this regard through Title IV Indian education programs and other compensatory programs. There are now Indian aides and Indian advisory committees in some schools, and more Indian teachers have been identified than we encountered ten or fifteen years ago. Certainly multicultural education, if it were fully implemented in the way I am advocating, would involve Native American individuals and organizations as resources, and would increase the favorable contacts of Native American students, their peers and teachers with Native American adults.

Another problem I mentioned is a central concern of multicultural education. Lack of preparation by teachers to understand and appreciate Indian children, their families and their lifestyles, is an issue in Oakland, San Jose, and Los Angeles as well as around the reservations and rancherias. Teachers and administrators are equally ill-prepared to understand and appreciate Black, Chicano and Asian children, their families and their lifestyles. Staff development is the name of the game in multicultural education. It is a monumental challenge if you assume that teachers and other school professionals and paraprofessionals must undergo a series of courses in the ethnic studies mode with reference to each of the diverse racial and ethnic and cultural groups served by the public schools.

Currently, in multicultural staff development, we are trying to follow a crosscultural rather than an ethnic studies model. As in the school curriculum, we are asking for attention to themes and topics rather than exotic differences, and we are encouraging people to look for the strands of culture which we have in common and which make us human. Illustrations should be found in the traditions, customs, lifestyles and behaviors of many groups.

We emphasize that fairness, honesty and accuracy are essential in dealing with differences as well as similarities. But there are probably some of you who are saying that here is where multicultural education is going to paint us out of the picture — just when we were gaining a little ground with ethnic studies! It may be true that much of what has been done in the field has either focused on the larger ethnic minorities — usually Blacks or Chicanos — or had no focus at all. We are not very skilled yet in crosscultural curriculum and staff development.

On the other hand, it is my contention that almost everywhere Indians have been short-changed in ethnic studies. Being fewer in numbers and often less visible, and having few voices in the community and in school-community councils, they will probably always be short-changed when the prevailing approach is to deal with each group — its history, traditions, contributions and lifestyles — as a separate subject and in depth.

It is my belief that the most viable approach, in the mixed setting of most of our schools and most of our communities, is multiethnic, crosscultural, and pluralistic. The goal is not assimilation, not separatism, but acculturation. Each individual student has opportunities and competencies enabling him or her to function in mainstream social, economic and political life, but also has opportunities and competencies to function with pride and self-confidence and a sense of tradition in the culture and lifestyle of the group with which he or she identifies.

Instead of asking every teacher to be an expert interpreter of tribal life, Indian heritage, and the learning style of Indian students, we want to ask every teacher to know what culture is, to know the idea and the methods of crosscultural instruction, to know what is *essential* in the heritage and tradition of Indians and many other groups, to respect and appreciate diversity, and to accept the reality of pluralism in American life. As a consequence, teachers will be prepared to understand and to deal constructively with children and families of Indians and any other group.

You and I know that neither fourth-grade teachers nor most university anthropologists are well-informed or well-prepared with reference to Native American studies. Nor are they with reference to Black studies, Chicano studies, or other ethnic studies. For the purposes of public school instruction, in communities like most of ours in California, it seems to many of us that teachers need the perspective of pluralism and respect and acceptance of diversity, plus a knowledge of what culture is and some grounding in the subcultures of their communities. If that need is met, they and their students will gain in multicultural understanding, skills, values and behaviors. Ethnic studies will have their place in curriculum and staff development, intensively for some students and teachers, but within the context of a multicultural approach for all.

The other problems I mentioned at the beginning are stereotypes and discriminatory attitudes and behaviors evidenced by non-Indians, including teachers, and ignorance on the part of educators as well as others regarding Indian traditions, values and achievements, resulting in a failure to respect Indian heritage and to include it in crosscultural teaching.

I have explained that a multicultural approach, if it is comprehensive, interdisciplinary, crosscultural and aimed at affective as well as cognitive learning, will go far to solve such problems. Will it go far enough?

It isn't easy to be optimistic, but those of us who work in multicultural education and intergroup relations would not do so if we were not fundamentally optimistic about the possibilities. We know that ignoring the issues of prejudice, discrimination and stereotyping will not make them go away. We know that the monocultural programs of the past (and present) have helped to create problems rather than solve them. We believe we have a framework that makes sense in a diverse pluralistic society. It is a way of looking at the entire school and its program, and it calls for important changes in curriculum and preparation. That means hard work, and it will take time.

So I for one do not expect revolutionary changes in a hurry. At my most optimistic I expect more and more educators to accept the concept of multicultural education, and to work at it in a developmental way over months and years. I expect them to learn to identify and use resource materials and resource persons from the Indian community and other ethnic and cultural groups in the community, to learn to identify and relate better to Indian students and their families, and to learn that American history did not begin at Plymouth Rock and will not end short of the equitable inclusion of all segments of the population in the benefits of education and society.

Let us develop such an education system together so that our public schools may fulfill their promise and the promises of the American dream.

IMPLEMENTATION PROBLEMS WITH PRESENT MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION POLICIES

Andrew Andreoli

In writing about the problems of implementing multicultural education policies one could elaborate on many different areas. However, this paper will focus on the school and the societal pressures that make it virtually impossible for the classroom teacher to offer an intensive multicultural education curriculum.

The California Department of Education provides the following definition for multicultural education:

> Multicultural education is an interdisciplinary educational process rather than a single program. The process is designed to ensure the development of human dignity and respect for all peoples. An essential goal within this process is that differences be understood and accepted, not simply tolerated. Within this definition lie the concepts embraced by cultural pluralism, ethnic and intercultural studies and intergroup and human relations.

One can see that if all of the elements of the definition were introduced into the school curriculum, we would truly be meeting the educational needs of all the students; however, the feeling of the times in regard to what is important in the education of a student does not warrant the full implementation of multicultural education.

How many times in recent years have you read that a local school board has decided that it would provide a school that would only offer the basics in education? The so-called "Three R's" are supposed to cure all of the ills that have contributed to the reason "why Johnny can't read." If the solution is this easy, then we might as well return to the "horse and buggy days" to solve the energy crisis.

The various pressure groups who control educational policy at the local community, state, and national levels have created a myth about what education was in the past. This myth is built around a premise that there was a nearly perfect educational system but that through the introduction of state and federally mandated programs, this system is in a state of deterioration. It is unfortunate that minority populations are beginning to believe in the myth and have attacked the educational system.

The American Indian, Mexican American and Black populations are newcomers to the present educational system. In 1924, the American Indian was made a citizen of the United States and through this process was given access to free public education. Up to this time the American Indian student attended special schools operated by church groups or the federal government. In most states Indians continued to attend the aforementioned schools until the early 1950's.

The Black population was not afforded ready access to free public education until the civil rights movements of the mid-1950's. The struggle still goes on after twenty-five years to secure this right. This is evidenced by the violence that has erupted in desegregation efforts through busing in recent years.

The Mexican American population has voiced its concern for equal educational opportunities by demanding the inclusion of bilingual bicultural education in the system. However, in California, the state with the largest Mexican American population, the necessity for bilingual education is still being challenged by those who have created the myth of the excellence of our past educational system.

It seems that as our educational system has grown to meet the special needs of various minority groups, in the eyes of educational policy makers it has not progressed. This is unfortunate in that programs that have prepared more American Indian, Mexican American, and Black students to enter colleges and universities are under attack. There is much evidence of this attack as school boards prepare budgets in the so-called "spirit of Proposition 13." Special programs that meet the needs of minorities are being considered frills and are being eliminated.

Into the educational atmosphere described above enters the concept of multicultural education. Although the State Board of Education and State Department of Education has adopted a policy on multicultural education, the policy makers who control education see the adoption of this policy as an extra burden in their efforts to provide quality educational programs for students. Policies adopted by any state agency do not have the force of law and do not have to be adhered to by local agencies. This is unfortunate in that the implementation of multicultural programs has suffered. Only in rare instances have schools entered into a truly multicultural curriculum using an interdisciplinary approach. In most of these cases it is the federal mandate that the schools include multicultural education to receive special funding for disadvantaged students that has caused its acceptance.

Until educational policy makers become aware that we have never had a perfect educational system and that the one that we have now surpasses anything from the past, the progress of education will become static.

Dr. Antonio Delano Sevayege, Professor of Education at Pepperdine University, at a recent multicultural education conference commented on the fact that educators are the only professionals that have been told how to do their job. He emphasized his point by asking the rhetorical question, "How many times have you questioned the diagnosis of your doctor?" It seems that everyone but the professional educator has the answer to today's educational problems and what is good in education for children.

While this paper may convey the idea that multicultural education is a program for minorities, that is not the intent. Expansion on the experiences of minorities entering the educational experience of this nation was for the purpose of exemplifying the problems that any new concept in education has in meeting societal approval. By bringing an awareness to the reader of these problems, it is hoped that the implementation of multicultural education policies will be made easier.

IV

CROSS-CULTURAL EDUCATION AND INDIAN STUDENT PERFORMANCE

INDIAN PORTRAYAL IN TEACHING MATERIALS

Joann S. Morris

Multicultural education is a very important concept in the field of education today; it also happens to be what is currently in vogue across the nation. Locally it is deservedly receiving recognition since Los Angeles, and specifically the Los Angeles City Unified School District with its almost 650 separate schools, is undergoing desegregation. Thus, efforts are being made to begin to introduce children to various cultures and to allow them to interact with one another. In light of this cultural interchange, the concept of multicultural education takes on new importance.

One problem with this new concept is that it has not been delineated definitively. Multicultural education means many things to different educators. Some teachers feel it is encompassed in ethnic studies courses still found in most junior and senior high schools, and which do indeed still serve a needed function. But ethnic studies are limited in that they focus on only one culture, not on many (multi-) cultures. Others feel they are teaching multiculturally when they celebrate certain ethnic holidays or awareness days or weeks, such as Indian Awareness Week in October. Still others teach in a true multicultural manner; that is, they teach children about other cultures on an ongoing, daily basis, in a setting where it is a natural part of the curriculum for every subject taught.

Speaking on behalf of American Indians, we must always make sure that Indian culture is included when people discuss multicultural education. Too frequently when teacher discussions are held or when publishers prepare materials that claim to be multicultural in content, Indians are left out and ignored as if we do not exist or as if we are not one of the four major ethnic groups in this country. Indian people must insist on being included.

Multicultural education is especially crucial in order to raise both student and teacher awareness about the many cultures in this country. Teachers need more information about other cultures. They went through the same school systems that most of us did, one that rarely if ever treated the topic of cultural differences. They cannot overnight be expected to have knowledge about other ethnic groups. Oftentimes they don't even know that they are bringing stereotyped information into the classrooms. Teachers can't always be blamed automatically for erroneous and faulty materials. However, if after sessions have been held with them and after correct information and sources for proper resource materials have been given, they still continue to follow their old habits then they are accountable for their irresponsible behavior.

In many teacher in-service sessions, I have used a technique to elicit comments about typical stereotypes about American Indians. Plain 3"x 5" cards are handed out to each participant. They are first asked to list on one side of the card all of the negative things that they have ever heard about Indians, not what they necessarily believe in but what they have heard from whatever source. After a few minutes, the participants are asked to reverse the card and write only those positive things they have heard about Indians. In reviewing the cards, I invariably find there are many more negative characteristics listed. Some of the typical stereotypes they have heard or learned sometime in their life are that Indians are warlike, drunks, lazy, dirty, fat, and some have even said we are sex crazed. Among the positive characteristics, the two most frequently listed are that we are good artisans and that we have strong family ties.

Our concern over these negative stereotypes is that they continue to be perpetuated. Stereotyped attitudes are passed down from adults to children. Typically, most children have extremely few or no contacts with real American Indians. When they do meet an Indian in real life, most children are literally full of fear and are afraid to talk to or even approach the person.

I can recall an instance from my own childhood that painfully brought this point home. I was eight or nine years old at the time and a member of a small dance group that performed in schools or before boy scouts and other groups. The women were changing in a dressing room adjacent to the public rest room. It must be noted that women dancers do not wear the feathers and loud bells the men do. By mistake, an Anglo woman and her child walked into the dressing room. Her child was so full of fear at seeing a room full solely of Indian women that he began screaming and crying uncontrollably. I was standing no further than four feet away from the child and felt the shock and anger grow within me. I hated that child for making me feel like some sort of freak and like there really was something wrong and horrible about me. No Indian child or adult should ever have to undergo such an ego-shattering experience. Nor, certainly, should that non-Indian child have had that fear to begin with.

Another example occurred a few years ago when the American Indian Education Commission office first opened. One of the temporary clerks working for us was Black. Her three-year-old daughter had been in frequently. On one occasion when one of the male Commissioners who wears braids was in the office, we agreed to ask the visiting child if she knew what this man was. With no hesitation she responded, "Yes, he's a red devil." Needless to say her mother was shocked since she herself felt no animosity toward Indians and, to her knowledge, had never spoken of us in a disparaging manner. Thus, we had an example of how early in life stereotypes are learned, the negative effect of television, and the power of influences beyond that of the parents alone.

We see from these two examples that very young children already hold opinions as to the value of other cultures. They enter school retaining their early impressions. All too frequently children will be in classrooms in which the teacher is neither equipped nor trained to understand the importance of improving children's views of others. Moreover, the materials they have at their disposal are also inadequate generally to teach another point of view.

To exemplify the problem educators face in attempting to find materials, especially textbooks, that are non-racist, I want to share a few excerpts from a textbook, *The Golden State: A History of California*, which is still in use in many school districts throughout the state. This text is extremely negative to California Indians. Chapter one, entitled "The Indians: The Original Californians," begins by stating erroneously that Indians originated in Asia. Indian people know this to be false and we object to the practice of educators teaching the Bering Strait theory as fact rather than merely as one theory among many, not the least among which should be included the various tribal origin stories.

In the second paragraph of the chapter, the authors state that "despite the advantages of climate and the abundance of wild plant and animal foods, the first inhabitants of California made little progress toward developing a civilized way of life." They later state that Indian homes were "of the simplest construction," and in two instances mention Indian houses in quotation marks:

> These "houses" half above and half below ground, kept the Indians warm in cold weather, but the damp atmosphere of their interiors would be considered unendurable today.
>
> Whatever the style, however, in one respect these structures were alike: they were generally kept in a state of filth. When the collection of bones and other refuse strewn on the floors became too offensive, and the fleas and vermin too numerous, an Indian family sometime set fire to their "house" and built a new one elsewhere.

In speaking about food, the authors state that "the Indians were not fastidious in their tastes and they did not disdain to eat snails, caterpillars, minnows," and continue to list many other uncommon food stuffs. Regarding social customs, the book refers to women performing most of the "drudgery," again maintaining the stereotype that all Indian women were drudges. They go on to say, "Creation of a male paradise on earth seems to have been the Indians' objective. Yet it is incorrect to label the males as lazy." However, it is apparently correct to imply laziness as the authors do. They also point out how "extremely fond of dancing" the California Indians were.

Indian religion and medicine are patronizingly discussed in this textbook, referring to medicine men with quotation marks around those two words or simply calling them "sorcerers." The authors refer to the "pretenses of these practitioners." Indian religion is discussed as being "primitive" and composed of various "cults," a negatively loaded word for the past several years.

A point of contention among most California Indians is with the book's comments that "most of today's California Indians have been assimilated into the general population though some linger on in the confining atmosphere of the more than one hundred tiny reservations that still exist within the state." Note the negative wording used and the value judgements expressed throughout this text. At the close of the chapter, the student is provided a list of six books for additional study but nothing on the list is more current than 1963.

It is important to realize that not only must we carefully review the textbooks in use but we must also preview study prints, duplicating materials, and even record albums. I want to share with you some ideas of what to watch for when reviewing records, using the album "American Indian Dances" distributed by Folkways Records as an example. It must be pointed out that the record itself is good; it does, indeed, include many selections of authentic Indian music.

However, included with the record are five pages of dance notes and descriptions. The instructions to any particular dance are almost impossible to follow since no diagrams are included. The dance notes are almost as useless; they are also written in a manner that only enhances negative stereotypes. The dance notes, compiled by Ronnie and Stu Lipner, international folk dance instructors and consultants, state that:

> The dances of the North American Indian is of a high cultural value to all of us who are interested in rhythm and melody, when it is primitive, erotic and remote from the conventional rhythm and melodies.

Later under "Supplement Notes," the authors claim: "The main thing is vigorous feelings, and emotions. Much shouting and yelping accompanies dancers feelings." Yelping, no less.

These have been just a few examples of the poor quality of the majority of materials still for sale in teacher's stores. The major complaint is that these materials deliver distortions of who and what Indians are. They provide false and negative perceptions. They are also frequently guilty of omissions. Just as Indians may be ignored and not mentioned as a minority, there is an incredible amount of information that is left unstated. For example, it is rare that you see in any textbook a discussion of treaties signed between the U.S. Government and Indian nations. Students, of any age, don't hear of the variety of provisions made in the hundreds of treaties. They don't understand why Article III of the U.S. Constitution, which states that treaties are the supreme law of the land, has special importance to Indians.

Another concern regarding texts and other materials is that when Indians are discussed they are usually oversimplified and generalized, although there are still over 493 distinct tribes in existence. Yet, authors feel they can make sweeping generalizations about all Indians in the Northeast, for example. In reality, the Northeastern region of the United States housed hundreds of distinct cultural groups, each with their own language and each residing in geographically different locations, e.g., the tribes along the Great Lakes were greatly different than those tribes, many of whom are now extinct, that resided along the Atlantic Ocean. The numerous tribes in the Northwest are treated in the same manner, as are the Indians of the Southwest, the Southeast, and the Plains region. Writing of Indians in such an oversimplified manner does them a great injustice.

Some of the common words used to describe Indian cultures are "primitive" and "simple"; frequent mention is made of their lack of technology. By negatively describing native lifestyles, subtle justification is given for subjugation of Indian tribes by so-called "advanced" cultures in the name of "progress." It also makes it appear inevitable that Indians should disappear over the horizon. There is very little reference ever made to the place that such factors as greed, deceit, racism and genocide played in the historical contacts between Indians and Anglos.

Another problem area is that when discussed in textbooks or materials, Indians are referred frequently to in the past tense. They are given a place in discussions on Westward expansion, then they are dismissed. Indians in contemporary society are rarely alluded to. If Indian protest movements are touched upon, there is no mention of the reasons behind such protests. Accurate information is rarely given to describe how life really is on the reservations today or how it is to live as something of an outsider in urban centers. But never is mention made of the fact that our old enemies, greed, deceit, racism and genocide, are still very much in existence and operating against Indian tribes.

When a textbook refers to the number of Indians on this continent prior to Columbus' arrival, the small estimate of one to two million is generally given; many historians and anthropologists document the number closer to ten or twelve million. Saying that Indians were few in number justifies European existence and taking over the land since, we would be led to believe, Indians underutilized it.

Indians are all too frequently shown as non-humans. Common terms used to describe them are wild, savage, and heathen. They are not seen as real people. An example of this comes from the history textbook, *America, Its People and Values:* "Among the first men to make their way through the Appalachian Mountains and look longingly at the land to the west was Daniel Boone." What did the authors consider all the Indian peoples who had for centuries passed through that same territory? Obviously they were not "men," not people, not human beings.

Books, especially those designed for young children, commonly interchange Indians and animals. Animals are frequently dressed in Indian garb. In the primer by Richard Scarry, *ABC Word Book*, the letter "D" is introduced while illustrating negative attitudes towards Indians. A cartoon depicts an out-of-control bulldozer being driven by a crazed bear dressed in an Indian headdress and buckskins. The words below the picture state: "The dizzy, daffy, dopey, bulldozer driver! What does he think he's doing? He's dangerous!"

In another reading series for older students, stories center around athletes. In one of four books in the series, the famous Indian athlete Jim Thorpe is said to be able to "run like a deer." No other athlete in the series was likened to an animal. In this same series, it is interesting to note that Billy Mills, the Sioux track star, is said to be able to run fast because it was "in his Indian blood." The book title is more ridicule than praise; *Chief Cloud of Dust.*

Indian leaders or other individuals highlighted in history are generally spoken of either as being friends of the whites or of their foes, their enemies. They are either good Indians or bad Indians. Yet if you look up the word patriot, most definitions say it is someone who has allegiance to his own people and to his own country. Thus many historical Indian people who are patriots are depicted as enemies, as hostiles.

Many books refer to the practice of scalping, yet they refrain from mentioning that scalping was known in Europe as far back as Ancient Grecian times. Students are rarely told also that scalping in America actually was introduced by the Dutch.

Many times insensitive materials make distinctions and comparisons between Indians and "Americans," thereby implying that Indians are not Americans. It also reinforces the negative us-versus-them concept. Teachers have been known to prepare charts that include categories such as: Indians Ate—We Eat, and Indian Wore—We Wear.

Additionally, printed materials too commonly use such negatively loaded words as brave, warrior, squaw, papoose, massacre, warpath, half-breed, and primitive. It is not necessary to show a picture of an Indian woman and her child and label them squaw and papoose. Those are not our terms to begin with. Furthermore, it would be more respectful to simply label such a picture as Indian mother and child. Publishers have become more sensitive about the negative labeling of other ethnic groups but they have a long way to go in learning what *not* to print about Indians. We need to assist in sensitizing the publishing companies. It is both our right and our responsibility to object to negative depictions and insist that changes be made.

Thus far I have been discussing and providing examples of some of the negative and often erroneous depictions of Indians in teaching materials. It is essential that positive and accurate materials find their way into the classroom. It is essential that Indian children begin to have a positive image of themselves, a self-concept that is improved, not invalidated, in the classroom. It is no less essential that non-Indian children begin holding more positive and respectful beliefs about Indian people. To extend this line of thinking, it is indeed crucial to our society that all of us learn more respect for one another's culture and truly learn to co-exist. To achieve this end, multicultural education is indispensable.

However, when teaching multiculturally it is not enough to talk about only one culture or about the similarities among cultures (e.g., foods, social customs). We must also be sure to demonstrate the historical links between cultures that are rarely discussed in textbooks or elsewhere. For example, many Japanese people feel a close affinity to American Indians due to Japanese experiences of being confined in relocation camps, many of which were ironically placed on or near Indian reservations. Likewise, few Indians, and fewer Blacks, realize that American Indians were also taken as slaves. Another fact rarely reported in textbooks is that numerous Indian tribes helped runaway slaves. Such historical links should be openly discussed and the positive feelings of each race for the other should be encouraged.

Valuable lessons can also be learned by examining differences between cultures. There are three major ways in which Indians differ from other minorities and these points should be made in the classroom. First, American Indians are the original inhabitants of this continent. They were not immigrants. No other minority group can make that claim. Secondly, Indian tribes have a special relationship with the U.S. Government as sovereign nations. No other minority group has such a relationship. The first treaty this country made was with an Indian nation. And lastly, although all minorities strive for self-determination, the struggle is more difficult for Indians since no other ethnic group in the country must contend with such a bureaucratic super-structure as the Bureau of Indian Affairs. No other race has such a massive, complex, government agency overseeing its every move.

Before closing I want to share a poem, another example of Eurocentric feelings. The poem comes from the 1977 edition of *A Child's Garden of Verses*.

> Little Indian, Sioux or Crow
> Little Frosty Eskimo,
> Little Turk or Japanee,
> Oh! don't you wish that you were me?

. . . Such a life is fine,
But it's not so nice as mine . . .

. . . You have curious things to eat,
I am fed on proper meat;
You must dwell beyond the foam,
But I am safe and live at home.

I will urge you one additional time to be just as careful in reviewing films, filmstrips, and even study prints. Often companies are less concerned with accuracy than with making films or prints colorful. In one particular set of study prints readily available in most stores, at least two of the posters are faulty in their accuracy. Although the setting in the Southwestern print is shown to be Taos Pueblo, the woman in the picture wears a Hopi hairstyle. The print of the Plains Indians shows the mother cooking dinner wearing her fully beaded buckskin dress while the man in full regalia, including a feather headdress, sits on the ground smoking his pipe.

The activities teachers ask students to engage in must also be carefully considered. Columbus Day, Thanksgiving and Washington's birthday are not necessarily three of our favorite days. It is, in fact, erroneous to continue honoring Christopher Columbus since he actually landed in the Bahamas, not on U.S. soil. Additionally, this arrival produced no real discovery. American Indians had been residing here for centuries. It was simply a matter of him providing new information to Europeans.

Let us consider what we can do to reverse this trend and be assured that more accurate information about Indian culture is being disseminated. First, we must become aware of the materials being produced by many tribes and Indian organizations across the country. We must assist by spreading the word to other educators and teacher-training institutions. We can urge teachers to use nontraditional materials in the classroom, such as Indian newspapers, Indian literary journals, and even articles in current magazines; these are particularly stimulating at the junior and senior high school level. Consider the quality of newspaper clippings or magazine articles; however, even if the quality is poor and the article is negative, a teacher could hold a discussion on stereotypes or on slanted writing styles. We can urge schools, libraries and other institutions to purchase the two volume set compiled by the National Indian Education Association which evaluates all manner of books, films and other materials. I would also urge educators to avail themselves of the position paper entitled "Integrating the Classroom" produced by the American Indian Education Commission. The paper includes five pages of ideas describing ways teachers can include information about Indian culture in almost every subject taught. If you are a parent, review the position paper and urge your child's teacher to incorporate some of the ideas.

The final idea I want to leave you with is that each of us must resolve to change the attitudes in the school system, in teacher training institutions, and in publishing houses. It is our shared responsibility to re-educate the teachers of our children, as well as all others who will influence their lives. Our primary concern must be for our Indian youth so they can grow up feeling good about themselves. But we must remember that all others, all non-Indian children, also need re-educating for one day they will grow to be adults. And it will be as adults that they will either interact with us positively or continue to treat us with disrespect. Let us all work toward the day when mutual respect is an integral part of not only the curriculum, but also our everyday lives.

THE CROSS-OVER EFFECT: A LEGITIMATE ISSUE IN INDIAN EDUCATION?

Anthony D. Brown

Many teachers have long assumed that the culture that Indian students bring with them to class inhibits their academic achievement. As a result, Anglo educators and teachers in countless schools across the nation have acted as if they considered Indian culture to be a negative factor affecting learning; thus the student's culture needed to be remediated or eliminated along with the student's poor study habits or limited reading ability. Wax, Wax, and Dumont[43] have called this belief "vacuum ideology." Vacuum ideology refers to the Anglo educator's belief that Indian children come from homes which are empty and meager, lacking in positive reinforcements that would serve as a foundation upon which to build scholarly activity. Consequently, it is the task of the Anglo educator to remove Indian culture from the pupil, then fill the newly created vacuum with an Anglo cultural heritage that would permit the Indian child to benefit properly from schooling. The history of Indian education has shown that the educational establishment's failure to accommodate to Indian culture has doomed all Indian children to low academic achievement — even for those students who initially showed academic promise.

The following article will review the school achievement of Indian pupils, with particular attention given to the phenomena that has been called the "crossover effect" by Bryde[8] and the "peak over" point by Milam.[33] Additional consideration will be given to the cultural factors that affect the school achievement of Indian students, and to the ways that traditional classrooms can be modified so that Indian children will be helped rather than handicapped by their culture.

The documentation of the poor school performance of Indian pupils began in earnest after the 1928 Meriam report noted that very little was known about the academic achievement of Indians. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) responded to this need by commissioning a series of large scale achievement test surveys.[3] The final, and most comprehensive test in the series was carried out by Coombs[13] in the mid-1950's. In this study, he administered the California Achievement Test to 23,608 Indian and Anglo pupils in eleven states. He found that Anglo pupils exceeded the achievement of Indian pupils at every grade level studied except the fourth. Coombs also found that Indian children in mission schools demonstrated the lowest level of school achievement, children in BIA boarding schools the next lowest, and public school Indian pupils the highest level of achievement. The latter finding confirmed many educators' beliefs that Indian pupils attending BIA boarding schools were receiving a particularly poor education. As a consequence of the Coombs study, the education branch of the BIA was on the defensive for the next twenty years. However, BIA detractors failed to note that BIA boarding schools typically enrolled a high percentage of students with behavioral and learning problems. Such students, understandably, tended to perform poorly on measures of school performance.

A methodologically sound study by Bass[2] in 1971 greatly clarified the issue of which type of school was doing the best job in educating Indian students. Bass and his associates conducted a four-year longitudinal study that first statistically controlled for important individual ability differences among the student populations of the subject schools. With student background factors thus controlled, Bass found no relative achievement differences between the three types of schools. As had many previous researchers, Bass found a progressive retardation in achievement among Indian pupils that resulted in their being 2½ years behind an Anglo comparison group by the 12th grade.

Bass's findings lend support to the belief by this writer that BIA boarding schools have been unjustly criticized for the quality of their academic programs. This belief is based upon classroom observations, and upon interviews with students that were conducted by this writer while working a year at a BIA boarding school. While the schools have definite problems in the social and affective areas of learning, they do a credible job developing cognitive skills.

In addition to the large scale surveys that included several tribes, numerous studies have focused on small samples of a single tribe. Studies by Sanders[38] among the Cherokee; Lammers[27] among the Onondaga; Maybee[30] among the Sioux; Martin[29] among the Navajo; Kayser[24] among the Ute; and Rist[37] with the Shoshone, all found evidence that Indian children were achieving below Anglo comparison groups.

A number of writers have criticized standardized achievement tests for being culturally biased against Indian children.[22,42] Of course this criticism is true, but it misses the main point of achievement tests. Their purpose is to measure how well Indian children are learning in school compared to how well Anglo children are learning. Achievement tests actually do provide a reliable instrument with which to chart the progress of Indian children through a school system. In addition to measuring achievement, the tests cannot also be expected to account for the failure of Indian pupils to score well on them. A single test can only be expected to measure a deficiency, not provide a definitive answer to the question of what caused that deficiency.

Standardized achievement tests are useful in providing a global measure of academic success of Indian pupils in a school system. Their validity is supported by the ability they have to predict future success in school equally well for Indian or Anglo students. The tests are good predictors for both groups because they measure for both groups the skills necessary to succeed in the typical American classroom. An Indian child who has been shown by a standardized achievement test to have failed to master past school work is not likely to have any greater success in future years if he remains in the same type of traditional classroom that has so far failed to meet his special learning needs. Once again, the test is not a villain, but merely an instrument that has documented the deficiency. It is when standardized achievement tests are used to identify learning deficits in need of remediation (more suitable methods are available for this purpose), or when they are used to stigmatize an Indian child as being a slow learner, that they can be justly criticized as being culturally biased against Indians.

Since success in school is in large part a matter of the length of school attendance, dropout studies might be more suitable than achievement tests for determining how well Indians perform in school. They have the advantage of avoiding the problem of cultural bias; and at the same time, they provide good information on an Indian student's success in school, and potential success in future occupations. In his review of the literature, Shea[39] has pointed out that when one considers occupational success as the goal of schooling, then *quantity* of schooling is more important than *quality*. Thus someone interested in alleviating unemployment in an Indian community would do well to focus their attention on the educational attainment of Indian students, rather than their educational performance.

A large number of studies have consistently shown that a high rate of Indian students leave school prematurely. Berry[3] reviewed a number of dropout studies and reported that "far more serious than averageness is the shockingly high dropout rate. No report on Indian education fails to note its wide extent." The 1969 Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education[41] states that Indian dropout rates were "twice the national average in both public and federal schools." The Subcommittee further noted that for some schools the rate approached 100 percent.

Although both Coombs[12] and Fuchs and Havighurst[15] have cautioned that there are difficulties involved in obtaining accurate statistics on the Indian dropout rate, they both agree that the Indian dropout rate is high no matter whose statistics were used. Coombs concluded from his review of the literature that the dropout rate is somewhat more than 1.5 times that of the general population. In their review Fuchs and Havighurst state that a very conservative figure for Indian dropouts is 43 percent.

It is clear from statistics on school attainment and school performance that Indian children are not fully benefiting from the schools they attend. From about the ninth grade they consistently score below Anglo comparison groups on standardized achievement tests, and demonstrate high dropout rates in nearly every Indian community in the country. The tragedy of Indian education is that the students frequently enter school demonstrating great promise. But as early as the second grade for some students, or as late as the seventh grade for others, the bright promise fades so that it is replaced by low achievement and a premature end to formal schooling.

The Coombs[13] study in 1955 was one of the first of a long series of research studies on widely differing tribes that have found that Indian pupils in the lower grades frequently equalled or exceeded the achievement of Anglo comparison groups. Then later on in their schooling, they fall below the comparison group in achievement. This phenomenon has come to be called the "cross-over effect" (see diagram). Milam[33] uses the term "peak-over" point to refer to the same phenomenon. According to Milam, "peak-over point is a grade level up to which the measured achievement of Indians does not differ from that of the standardization population, but after which Indian pupils' achievement becomes increasingly lower than that of the standardization population." In this article the more commonly used term "cross-over effect" will be used.

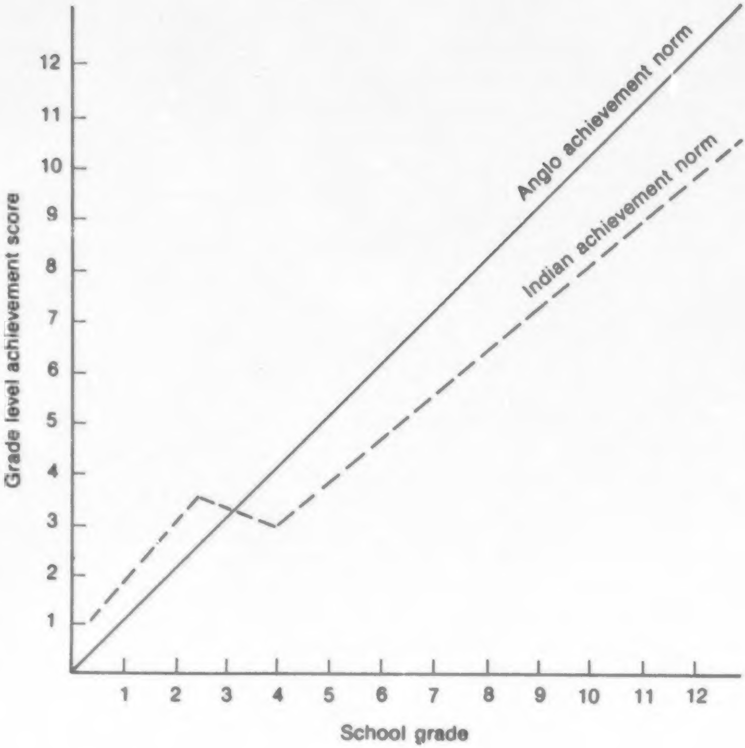
Bryde[8] was the first to write extensively on the cross-over effect. In his study of 400 Sioux and 200 Anglo pupils, he found that Indian pupils exceeded the academic achievement of the Anglo comparison group until the seventh grade, when they began to fall behind them in achievement. Bryde points out that at the seventh grade students are entering adolescence, with attendant feelings of insecurity. At the same time they start to become aware of the poor economic conditions among Indians, and of their own limited career opportunities. These perceptions produce feelings of alienation and rejection in the Indian students, which in turn leads to their reduced school performance.

Fuchs and Havighurst[15] have disputed the existence of the cross-over effect because they believe it is "—quite unusual, from the points of view of educational practice and theory, that this minority group, growing up in families which speak little or no English and generally do not read to their children or otherwise assist them in getting the basic school skills, produced children who were at or above the national norm from age nine or ten to age twelve or fourteen, after which they sharply drop in school achievement."

Fuchs and Havighurst's criticism of Bryde's study centers on the representativeness of the sample he employs. They point out that there was a differential loss of cases from grade to grade. Those subjects that were lost from the study might have had lower achievement scores than those subjects remaining in the study. This in turn would make it appear as if Indian pupils were at a higher academic performance level than the national norms.

The two writers' second objection to Bryde's sampling technique concerns the average age of the Indian sample. They point out that many of the Indian pupils are a year or more above average for their school grade. Studies by Coombs[12] and Kelly[25] give support to the belief that Indian pupils are typically older than their Anglo classmates. Fuchs and Havighurst attribute overageness to the fact that many Indian pupils are held back in the early grades because of poor academic performance. If their hypothesis is true, Indian pupils would have a greater opportunity to thoroughly learn the classroom skills being measured on achievement tests. Thus they would be able to score higher than Anglo pupils who have not had the additional classroom time provided by repeating grades in elementary school.

Cross-over Effect



There are two problems with the explanation of the cross-over effect provided by Fuchs and Havighurst. The first concerns the potential effects on learning attributed to being held back in the early grades. Ausubel[1] has pointed out that most classroom learning is sequential in nature, since present learning is built on prior learning. Thus Indian pupils spending more time in the early grades, where they thoroughly learn the fundamentals, should demonstrate higher achievement in the later grades, not less. Yet Hess[20] has pointed out that the cross-over usually takes place by the fourth grade, so that beyond the fourth grade Indian children become under-achievers. Secondly, in the study carried out by Brown,[7] an age comparison made between Anglo and Indian children revealed that the two groups of children were nearly identical in age. In Brown's study, Cherokee children in grades 1 and 2 equaled or exceeded the math and reading achievement of a matched Anglo comparison group. At the 4th and 5th grade, the Cherokee children fell considerably behind the Anglo comparison group in achievement.

Other researchers have found additional evidence supporting the existence of a cross-over effect among Cherokee pupils in Eastern Oklahoma. Garrison[16] surveyed the school achievement of all the Cherokee children in Sequoyah County in Eastern Oklahoma. Sequoyah County was chosen in part because of the large number of traditional Cherokee who reside in the County. Garrison found that, at the first grade level in some of the schools studied, the Cherokee children equaled or exceeded the national norms on standardized achievement tests. But as the children continued on in school, they showed a progressive decline in achievement.

In a study by Sanders[38] on school achievement among Cherokee pupils in Eastern Oklahoma, comparisons were made between traditional and non-traditional Cherokee children, and between both groups and national norms on standardized achievement tests. She found that first grade non-traditional pupils scored very near the national norms in reading achievement on the Standardized Achievement Test. It was apparent that this difference was not statistically significant. Beyond the first grade the Cherokee children showed progressive academic retardation until at the fifth grade they were 1.18 grades below the norm.

In supporting his study on the cross-over effect, Bryde cites additional studies that found evidence that some Indian children initially demonstrate high achievement, then fall below the national norms as they continue in school. The first study Bryde cites is Rist[37] on school achievement among Shoshone Indian students. Rist reported that the Shoshone made normal progress until the fifth grade, when they begin to drop in achievement.

Bollinger[5] compared the school achievement of Anglo and Sioux students in an integrated school. He found that, on the California Achievement Test, Indian pupils in grades 4, 5, and 6 scored above national test norms; Indian pupils in grades 7-12 scored below the test norms.

Bryde[8] also reported on a study of Indian school achievement conducted by the Aberdeen Area Office of the BIA. The study provided the following data for thirty-eight federal schools in North and South Dakota.

Grade	Norm	Average	N
4	4.1	4.3	636
5	5.1	5.2	627
6	6.1	5.8	667
7	7.1	6.9	618
8	8.1	7.7	624

It can be seen that Sioux Indian children exceed the test norms until the sixth grade, when they begin to drop below the norms in achievement.

Additional studies not reviewed by Bryde have also found evidence for a cross-over effect.

Milam[33] studied school achievement among Indian children attending Phoenix area BIA schools. He found that except for the Hopi, all tribal groups studied were significantly below national norms on the California Achievement Test. Hopi students in the third and fourth grade were found to be equal to or above the national test norms. Milam attributed the better performance of the Hopi children to the fact that they had received individualized reading (Sullivan Series) and arithmetic (Singer Series) programmed materials for the first three grades.

In an earlier study among the Hopi, Peters[36] reported that "performance seems to reach its peak in grades III and IV, after which learning appears to be more difficult." He supported this statement by providing intelligence test data on Hopi children that showed that performance on intelligence tests reaches a peak when they are eight or nine, then it declines sharply.

Jones[23] studied school achievement among a small sample of Papago elementary children. He found that first and second grade children scored at or above the norms on the California Achievement Test. Beyond the second grade the Papago children crossed over and began to under-achieve.

Smith[40] administered the Stanford Achievement Test to a group of Nez Perce and Anglo elementary children. At the fourth grade the two groups of children did not significantly differ; however, at the fifth and sixth grade levels the Nez Perce children fell below the Anglo children in achievement. In his review of the literature, Berry[3] cites two studies that are examples of Indian students performing well on achievement tests. Graham[18] found that Minnesota Chippewa students in the sixth and seventh grades were slightly below county, state and national norms. Eighth grade students were equal to county and state norms, and one school month above national norms. Lee[28] administered the California Achievement Test to students in six schools in North and South Dakota. With exception of an all Anglo parochial school with a selective student body, he found no significant differences between schools having predominately Indian or predominately Anglo enrollments.

In a study by Young and Churchill,[44] evidence is provided that some Indian children enter the first grade achieving above Anglo students. They administered the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test and the Cooperative Preschool Inventory to a group of urban Indian preschool children. The two researchers found that the Indian children slightly exceeded the national norms on the two tests.

The final study to be reviewed is the previously mentioned study by Coombs and his associates.[13] In perhaps the largest study of Indian school achievement ever conducted, Coombs found that Indian children in the fourth grade slightly exceeded national test norms. Fuchs and Havighurst[15] criticized Coombs's findings by pointing out that 40% of his sample consisted of Anglo students. They further stated that when Anglo scores are deleted from Coombs's data, Indian children are shown to be consistently below national norms. The two researchers are partially correct in their criticisms. However, a closer inspection of Coombs's data by this writer revealed that fourth grade Indian children in Pheonix area public schools equaled or exceeded the achievement of the comparison group of Anglo children in public schools. Fourth grade Indian children in other areas studied, and in all grades above the fourth, fell behind the Anglo comparison group in achievement.

In summary, a variety of studies over the past twenty-five years have shown that Indian children excel in academic achievement at some point early in their school careers, then begin to show lower achievement as they continue through school. This phenomena has been called the cross-over effect or peak-over point. It is evident from these studies that the phenomena is real, and that it is a reflection of fundamental processes in the academic life of young Indian children. Determining the nature of the processes that produce a cross-over in achievement among Indian children is made more difficult by the fact that the phenomena is not universal among Indians. Most studies of Indian school achievement have found that Indian children enter school scoring slightly below national norms; they then fall further behind as they stay in school.

Before an attempt can be made to determine the "causes" of the cross-over effect, it is necessary to examine the adequacy of the measurement procedures and the methodology of those studies that identified the phenomenon. This task has been made difficult because most authors do not provide sufficient information on design, sampling procedures, or statistical tests, to permit a thorough evaluation of their studies.

Although not a methodological problem affecting internal validity, the lack of comprehensiveness of many of the studies have made interpretation of the results difficult. As an example, a number of studies did not cover the lower grades. Other studies did not examine any grades beyond the fifth. Consequently, no sound statements can be made about the shape of the learning curve for the years not included in the study. In the Coombs study, for instance, the school achievement of Indian children in the first through the third grades is not studied. His important study then, can give only limited information on the shape of the learning curve for Indian children in elementary school.

The norms used to compare the achievement of Indian students have also presented a problem. In most of the studies reviewed, national norms are used. Yet in many cases even Anglos who attend the small, rural schools where Indians are usually found do not themselves reach national achievement levels. The education provided in these schools is frequently inferior — for both Anglos and Indians.

Some studies have used local norms since they present an obvious advantage over national norms. Another possible approach is that used by Brown.[7] In his study the comparison group consisted of Anglo children from a school in a nearby small town. An investigation revealed that both groups of children came from working-class families.

The ideal solution would be for a study to use a comparison group that is composed of Anglo students taken from the same classroom as the Indian children. An additional benefit of this approach is that it would permit a determination of whether or not Anglo children also show a pattern of rising and falling achievement as they continue in school.

One of the few studies that compared achievement between Indian and Anglo students enrolled in the same class failed to find a cross-over effect. The study by Miller[34] examined the school achievement of Indian and Anglo students sharing the same class. He found that Indian students scored below their Anglo classmates at all grade levels studied.

All of the studies reviewed gathered data cross-sectionally. Campbell and Stanley[9] have provided a survey of some of the problems that are commonly found in cross-sectional designs. The principle problem is the failure to control for the fact that all the groups in the design have different histories. Thus it is difficult to determine which past experiences are the cause of the pattern of rising and falling achievement. The recommended approach is to use a longitudinal design. Longitudinal studies are rare in any area of the social scientific literature, primarily because of the time and expense involved.

A further methodological problem concerns the validity of the type of achievement test scores that have been used. Most studies have used grade equivalent scores as the basis for comparison. However, Cronbach[14] has noted that these scores are unsuited for purposes of comparing achievement between two groups. A better procedure, but one that is still not without problems, is that used by Brown.[7] In comparing achievement between Anglo and Cherokee students, he first converted the scores to percentiles. Perhaps the most correct procedure would be to convert the raw achievement scores to standardized Z scores before conducting a comparison. This recommended procedure is apparently infrequently used because many agencies that machine-score a school district's annual achievement tests report the results in grade equivalent rather than Z scores.

A final measurement problem concerns the nature of the assessment instrument used to determine school achievement. The items used in pre-school tests and in first and second grade achievement tests are usually of a performance type. As such, they are not verbally weighted. McShane[31] has noted that Indians tend to score well on performance type items — usually at or above the level of normative data samples. On verbal items Indians generally score below

Anglo norms. Based upon what McShane has found, early school achievement above test norms, followed by a cross-over to lower achievement, could be explained by the fact that the Indian students encounter an increasing use of verbal items on achievement tests as they continue in school.

It is apparent from this discussion that there are deficiencies in the methodology and measurement procedures used in studies that found a cross-over effect. However, as a group the deficiencies do not seem strong enough to completely discredit all the studies finding evidence of an effect. There are probably no studies in the social sciences without methodological or measurement problems. Such problems vary in their impact on the outcome of a study. A serious methodological deficiency can completely discredit a study's results. The deficiencies in cross-over effect studies are not that serious, but the problems do make it especially difficult to identify antecedent causal factors for Indian children who cross-over.

The low academic achievement of Indian children (cross-over studies, by definition, show that Indian children become underachievers) has been attributed to a host of factors. Such factors as low intelligence, Garth;[17] language deficits, Blossom;[4] sense of control, Coleman;[11] self-concept, Hobart;[21] peer group norms, Wax, Wax, and Dumont;[43] teacher attitudes, Parmee;[35] home environment, Branchard;[6] and Indian culture, Sanders,[38] have been suggested as being related to the low academic achievement of Indian children. Berry[3] summarizes the above "causes" in his review: "Some attribute the problem to a lack of motivation, or the apathy of parents, or the irrelevance of the curriculum, or the inadequacies of the teachers, or the Indian child's "shyness," or early marriage, or laziness, or chronic absenteeism, or poverty, or mental deficiency, or of stubborn resistance to the white man's culture, or various combinations of these and other factors."

With the exception of low intelligence, which has been discredited by Berry, all of the above factors are probably involved at some level, and with some tribe, in the low school achievement of Indian children. Only factors in Indian culture will be considered here.

The school's inability to effectively teach Indian children is in part due to the school's failure to accommodate to Indian culture. This failure has created a situation where Indian culture becomes a potential barrier that limits the achievement of Indian children. Berry[3] writes that:

> Whether or not the Indian child is "culturally deprived" is debatable, and the decision depends upon one's understanding of depri-

> vation; but the fact that he begins his formal education with a cultural heritage which differs appreciably from that of the school's administrators, policy makers, and teachers cannot be doubted. This cultural barrier is a difficult one to surmount and many fail to make it. It is often stated that this conflict of cultures which develops in the school situation is a major obstacle to the Indian child's academic success.

Although many writers have speculated that Indian culture has a negative impact on an Indian child's learning, there has been little hard research on this topic. In addition, there has been little agreement on the question of the attribution of an Indian child's classroom behavior. This behavior could be unique to Indian children, and could be based upon traditional Indian values; or, the classroom behavior of Indian children could be a product of their disadvantaged background, and could thus be behavior shared with disadvantaged children from other ethnic groups.

The following is a discussion of several interrelated cultural values thought to affect the school performance of Indian children. The traditional values are not found in all tribes; they are, however, fairly common to many different American Indian tribes.

— avoidance of competition
— high value on cooperation
— strong peer influence

Very few research studies have inquired into the relationship between the traditional values listed above and the school achievement of Indian children. Studies by Hess[20] and Brown[7] on cooperation and competition are perhaps the only studies in this area that have gone beyond anecdotal discussion.

Hess studied a sample of 481 American Indian children enrolled in grades three through eight on a reservation in the northern Plains. She found that a perception by Indian students of high levels of classroom competition was negatively related to the school achievement of Indian students. Hess reports that "—there appears to be more reason to believe that 'competitiveness' is an alien orientation for Indian subjects. This seems to be particularly true when the implied competition is with peers, rather than with a standard of excellence."

Henry[19] has noted that between-student competition over grades is the norm in the nation's schools. Consequently, in avoiding competition Indian pupils are presumably placing themselves at a disadvantage.

Brown[7] studied degrees of cooperative and competitive behavior among a small sample of Cherokee children. He found that Cherokee grade school pupils were more cooperative and less competitive than a matched Anglo comparison group. Furthermore, he found that their cooperative behavior was negatively related to measures of their school achievement.

As a result of observing the classroom behavior of Indian children, a number of writers have been impressed by the influence that the peer group exerts on individual performance.[3] Although the Indian peer group may have a positive influence — as when it provides emotional support to its members — the usual effect is to reduce achievement. This can happen when the Indian peer group exerts pressure on the better students not to achieve above the norm for all of the students.

Though generally negative in its impact on school achievement, the strong peer group influence has the potential to play a constructive role in improving the classroom learning environment. All students, whether Indian or Anglo, engage in informal peer tutoring. Encouraging this activity among Indians should prove especially beneficial to the less academically able members of the group.

Although some evidence has been presented that certain aspects of Indian culture serves to hold back Indian classroom achievement, it does not necessarily have to be this way. For instance, Clifford[10] has shown that an atmosphere of cooperation in the classroom can be more conducive to achievement than a competitive environment. Indian pupils, since they are adept at cooperation, could prosper in such a situation.

Kleinfeld[26] has pointed out that Anglo teachers frequently have trouble motivating Indian pupils by appealing to them to learn for the sake of learning. Yet he reports that teachers who make a personal appeal to the Indian pupil to learn in order to please the teacher can be quite successful. Again this is an example of encouraging educational achievement of Indian students by working with rather than against their culture.

The cross-over effect is an important issue in Indian education because of the information it provides on how well Indian children are being educated in the nation's classrooms. The basic implication of the cross-over phenomenon is that many Indian children came to the first grade well prepared to learn. In the early grades they perform satisfactorily, then begin to fall behind in achievement. The meaning from these events is clear. The schools that Indians attend are doing an inadequate job by not building upon the academic promise that Indian children bring with them to school.

It has been documented that there are non-Indian sub-populations (school districts, neighborhoods, ethnic groups) of the nation's school children who exceed the norms on standardized achievement tests. The pattern of over-achievement generally continues for these non-Indian sub-populations across all grade levels. Yet for Indian children initially high achievement soon turns to under-achievement. The literature points out that few in the nation's school system expect Indian children to perform well. Cross-over effect studies demonstrate that those in the schools who do not expect high academic achievement from Indian students are not long disappointed.

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V

LEADERSHIP AND TEACHER TRAINING

VALUES AND AMERICAN INDIAN LEADERSHIP STYLES

Robert W. Rosson

Introduction

There has been considered an urgent need for Indian people to obtain training at colleges and universities for the necessary leadership which is sought by Indian tribes. However, the reality of Indians accepting the so called "qualified administrator position" is another question altogether. Educated at institutions of higher learning where primary emphasis is not forcused upon tribal values can legitimize value disparities, real or imagined, and thus create role problems in which Indian administrators find it difficult to deal with.

During this past year, I had the opportunity to witness this process upon Indian graduate students at a large Eastern University, of which I was a member. Overall, the graduate program in education included a number of traditional Indian students. Upon graduation, we were to take such skills back to Indian communities as administrators of educational facilities. The primary focus being education suited for Indians.

I vividly remember one of my colleagues who upon graduation, went back to Arizona to work with her tribe, the Navajo. Upon returning, she was ostracized. The irony of her personal saga was two fold. First, she was intensely interested in helping her people and she believed education was one very important avenue. Secondly, she wrote her masters thesis about this particular dilemma. It was entitled, "You Can't Go Home Again." In essence, she understood that returning would witness her status as a type of social leper. The personal exposure to the ways of the white world altered perceptions, both on the part of the community and upon this particular person.

To fully understand what resulted, one must imagine her Navajo daughter, age 11, who returned and spoke English before Navajo. Her daughter also began to experience the excitement of having an Andy Gibb or John Travolta poster on her bedroom wall, something almost conceptually unimaginable with relationship to the traditional hogan of the Dine' (people). Although these examples appear insignificant, they are very real in the world of the Indian. Symbols of the white world are not always easily accepted, as my friend will attest to from her experience.

What then is the purpose of educating Indian leaders if the consequences result in a lack of acceptance? This question is an important one worth consideration. Education can become void of any real significance if it is not easily adopted by Indian communities. The resistance to this type of leadership is very real and it must be dealt with in some realistic fashion.

The purpose of this paper is to explore the various socialization processes that affect Indian administrators who are primarily educated at institutions of higher education. Such an examination might well illuminate some of the processes that occur in tribal communities attempting to resolve the pressures brought to bear upon Indian people across the country. It is the view of this author that modern technology can no longer be ignored by Indian people. We must begin to look for alternatives to the ever increasing tensions manifested by rapidly expanding technological innovations. The role that future Indian leaders play in the development of policy initiatives responding to such sociological pressures will most likely be of ultimate importance.

The methodology of this paper will focus upon the following areas. First an examination of the sacred-secular societal construct is warranted. The reason to examine this model rests upon the fact that Indian communities vary substantially from tribe to tribe. Some Indian communities are closed and rigid, others tend to be somewhat more open and relaxed. Some tribes minimize contact with the predominate Anglo-American society, others openly interact with it and even integrate certain Anglo-American values into its political structure. Often times, Indian communities tend to contain factions representing fixed points of views within such a continuum. A continuum ranging from a tribal world to a modern urban oriented world.

A second area of consideration worth exploring is the role of educated administrators in relationship to the tribes they work for. By educated, I refer to college and university instruction. The real process of education still takes place at the tribal level when the youth of tribal members are socialized into the values of their own people. The role of Indian administrators must be explored more clearly if we are to truly understand the complexities that pervade tribal life. Thus the focus of this problem will be the object of such consideration in the second part of the paper, but the sacred-secular continuum will be addressed next.

The Sacred-Secular Continuum

It is extremely important for trained Indian leadership to understand the origins of these problems with relationship to the community they represent. If such differences are ignored or miscalculated, then the administrator finds himself at the mercy of the tensions which might explode at any time. The role of administrator with relationship to the communities they work for will be the object of this section of the paper.

Howard Becker's model explores the reality of the modernization-traditionalism conflict with what he refers as the Sacred-Secular societies construct. Secular societies are those that represent the modernization concept, whereas sacred societies are considered more traditional in nature. "Sacred and secular" as terms designate certain kinds of orientation towards values.[1] His orientation towards the values that relate to these concepts is structured more along a continuum whereby sacred and secular represent extremes. Therefore, groups, communities, and individuals may actually fall somewhere in between these polarities. However, Becker's main point may center on the values belonging to groups or individuals. Clearly, all organisms, human or infrahuman, are oriented towards values in some way; they are attracted or repelled by them.[2] Sacred and secular value systems then, are both products of culture, when particularly viewed as embodied in evaluative actions leading subsequent actors to evaluate similarly.[3]

The sacred community's customary behavior displays the usual small town patterns of "small talk," and accepted ways of breaking the ice.[4] Relationships tend to be much closer amongst family and friends and the community standards tend to be socially much more informal and friendly, although such relationships tend to have delineated parameters.

As Iannaccone and Lutz state in *Politics, Power and Policy: The Governing of Local School Districts,* sacred communities usually manifest some of the following characteristics:

> The sacred community is seen first of all in its evaluation of change. For the sacred community, old ways are better than new. Fads and new notions are inherently dangerous and even small differences from customary patterns of behavior may be the start of the road away from virtue from which there is no turning back. The old days are safer and preferred to the new age. The tried is thereby the true and that which has not been experienced is probably false.[5]

Secular communities in contrast, display public behavior quite differently. Small talk is scorned, and the big social questions, the deeply felt things, are openly discussed, sometimes shouted out publicly.[6] Relationships become much more informal among family members and friends. The community tends to allow for a greater degree of privacy and individualism.

Iannacconce and Lutz describe secular societies and change in the following manner:

> Conversely, the secular community is one which places a high positive value on change itself. Modern modes are better than old fashioned modes. Being up-to-date is prized; retaining something no longer "in" leaves one "out." Old virtues are more often seen as hypocrisy or blind conformity depriving one of freedom. The future — or the present thrilling moment, the extreme polar instance of the secular type — is preferred to the past. The tried is always imperfect and found wanting and that which has not been experienced is most sought after. As one moves from sacred toward secular, the test of a new idea becomes its rationality. Finally, at the extreme of secularity the acceptability of an idea depends on its bizarreness and whether or not it is in.[7]

When one conjurs up the image of a sacred society or community, the various North American Indian tribal communities could easily fit the descriptions mentioned. Whether the tribes were Navajo, Ojibwa, Hopi, Cherokee, or Mohawk, certain characteristics could be adapted from the sacred framework established by Becker. Such general patterns of interaction were manifest within the lifestyles of individual members of each tribe, but today theorists would witness a variety of behaviors ranging from sacred to secular. Further examples can be seen within the next example.

Robert K. Thomas describes this similar framework, but with a different approach. In an article entitled "Eastern American Indian Communities," Thomas emphasizes the role of tribal groups as being distinctive of the modern American communities. As with Becker's approach, various configurations also exist between two extremes along a continuum. Very few Indian tribes are still considered as "purely" tribalistic. Most Indian groups now are much more open. They see themselves as part of a larger whole, are less particular as a people, more generalized and therefore, less tribal in the way we are describing it.[8]

However, distinctions often still exist in a manner which separates Indians from non-Indians and one tribe from another. Historically, the Anglo-Americans have attempted to alter Indian values, thereby creating a new lifestyle for Indians similar to whites. Americans have long held the notion that everyone should be as identical as possible in terms of beliefs. It is a middle-class American bias to tend to hold "human nature" constant, to say "everyone is basically the same," and to see the distinctiveness of peoples in terms of items or traits.[9] The distinctions thus become nominal in the eyes of the whites.

Robert Redfield wrote a paper called "The Folk Society" which seems to define much of what Thomas states about tribal groups. Redfield conceptualized a type of sacred community in the following excerpt:

> Such a society (The Folk Society) is small, isolated, and non-literate and homogeneous with a strong sense of group solidarity. The ways of living are conventionalized into that coherent system which we call "a culture." Behavior is traditional, spontaneous, uncritical, and personal. There is no legislation or habit of experiment and reflection for intellectual ends. Kinship, its relationships and institutions, are the type of categories of experience and the familial group is a unit of action. The sacred prevails over the secular, the economy is one of status rather than of the market.[10]

Thomas strikes an important difference between modern groups and tribal or folk societies with the following statement:

> A great deal of our relationships in the urban world are not personal, but categorical. We deal with strangers in standardized role functions such as waitresses, cab drivers, colleagues, etc. Our definition of ourselves tends to be not from other people, but from our own actions — our goals, our occupations, our roles and their symbols, etc. Men who live in a folk world are defined by other persons. In most American Indian groups, both in aboriginal times and today, these other persons who give definition to individual, who tells one who he is, are relatives.[11]

It has often been expressed by Indian people that our tribal ways give us a greater sense of "wholeness." When one reflects on the statement above, we can begin to realize that modern secular societies encourage specialization. Each member of the society becomes a cog in the total realm of existence with a specialized function. Tribal ways develop the holistic attitude in a much more functional way. As Thomas states, "our tribal existence is based on 'who we are' and not 'what we do.'"

The nature of tribal life has always troubled Euroamericans.[12] Initial reactions to the Indians either condemned them for lacking social institutions (and therefore values) or conceded with amazement that Indians did not require them.[13] This attitude on the part of white Americans exists in various degrees in today's society, especially in areas where certain Indian communities continue to practice traditional beliefs.

Basically, actions expressed by various groups do tend to fall in a continuum. Very few Indian tribes seem to be sacred to the extent that they once were. Technology, for the most part, has shortened the distance between the separate realities. It might be realistic to believe that the most traditional Hopi Indian of Arizona might very well have visited Phoenix. The mere act, if only once, would alter the perceptions of any traditional person. However, it would also be absurd to think that the sacred society has not influenced or altered the modern world to some extent. It is alleged that although Indians are becoming more and more like whites, whites also pick up bits of "Indianess."[14] Furthermore, some "Indianess" will always be retained while individual Indians in the same population will not acculturate at the same rate.[15] The fact that Indians do not acculturate at the same rate is an important aspect of the traditional-modernization conflict.

The descriptions of the traditional-modernization constructs serve as a foundation for conceptualizing differences among people. Howard Becker and Robert Thomas's approach were used to establish an informal arrangement to consider such value disparities. If Indian leaders are to be effective in the communities in which they work, then it is important for them to first understand these orientations towards particular values which accompany such extremes.

Indian Leadership: Problems and Promises

It has already been stated that Indian people do not represent any one homogenized philosophy. In fact, even though all tribes have originated from a sacred group, the differences among the various tribes further substantiates another level of complexity. One which has continued to this day. It has even been theorized that Indian people will never witness an individual leader the likes of Martin Luther King, Jr., because of the differences among tribes. Such tribal lines often do exist to a large extent and currently impede Indian unity. Some Indian leaders feel that this is a challenge that must be met, while others feel that such a process has already occurred. This author believes that Indian unity has not occurred because of such tribal lines.

The focus should now shift to the role of the Indian leader and his orientations toward the Indian community. The first task should center on theoretical considerations of role-sets as advanced by Merton. The theory of role-sets begins with an image of how social status is organized in the social structure.[16] With relationship to Indian leaders, this would refer to their role as an administrator in a tribal social structure. Despite the very diverse meanings attached to the concept of "social status," one sociological tradition consistently uses it to refer to a position in a social system, with its distinctive array of designated rights and obligations.[17] In this tradition, as exemplified by Ralph Linton, the related concept of "social role" refers to the behavior of status-occupants that is oriented toward the patterned expectations of others (who accord the rights and exact the obligations).[18]

A problem often emerges in Indian communities which would complicate this sociological tradition. As mentioned earlier, Indian communities frequently are in a state of flux between two extremes. This suggests that the designated rights and obligations ascribed to leaders, who may have never been subscribers to the values of the community of which they service, might be very difficult to determine. It thus becomes very important for Indian leaders to construct the proper social mechanisms of that particular community (whenever possible). It generates the further problem of discovering how these mechanisms come into being, so that we can also explain why the mechanism does not operate effectively or fails to emerge at all in some social systems.[19] In simpler terms, if the role expectations of administrators, as perceived by the community, are not clearly delineated role-sets, then the administrative capacities to delegate effective programs will be severely hampered, especially if expectations rest upon multiple roles which conflict with each other.

Taking set-roles into consideration and their implications on the expectations of Indian leadership, we now will turn to another aspect worth pondering. In particular, an examination of the Indian leader's relationship to his reference group (tribe) should be addressed.

Sociological theory once again will be the focus of this segment. Sociologists have long been concerned with the issue of individual membership to specific reference groups. In the case of traditional Indian leadership styles, this usually involved the tribal chairman and tribal councils. With the increased attention upon professional training at universities and colleges, new styles of Indian personnel are gradually appearing in Indian tribal operations canvassing such areas ranging from economic enterprises to educational facilities.

However, along with such training come other notions. Such notions often manifest themselves as cultural traits adopted by Indian students at such Anglo-American based facilities. In other words, Indian students alter their perceptions because of the socialization process of such institutions. Such perceptions can easily be seen by more traditional Indian people.

In relationship to the reference group theory, Blalock examines what he calls the "middleman minorities" in labor. These middleman positions act as intermediate zones between a specific group of people and the established elite. Often, although not always, the middleman minority is numerically small.[20] Its power is largely dependent on the goodwill or tolerance of the power elite.[21] As long as it is fulfilling its role successfully, but perhaps not too successfully, it will be protected by the elite.[22]

This is a common criticism of the so-called "educated Indian" leader. It is possible that such leadership becomes a buffer to the establishment for which certain concessions have been granted. If the federal government wants to ignore demands placed upon them by Indian leaders, it theoretically could do so. Educating Indian leadership does not guarantee success for tribes. Who is to say what the federal government's real intentions were for expanding educational opportunities to Indian. It may have been moral or it may have been political.

Whether or not such a verification of intentions by the federal government can be determined is not the primary concern here, but the fact that trained Indians in the administrative sciences find themselves as often being dissociated with other Indians is the real issue. What good does it do to receive such training if it is not accepted by tribal societies? Although tribal societies recognize the need for such training, they also realize the difference it can bring; a difference not always easily understood. In order to understand this problem better, continued expansion of this middleman minority philosophy will now be undertaken.

This middleman minority might better fit into a similar sociological classification known as the marginal man scheme. The marginal man can best be explained as follows:

> It appears, further, that anticipatory socialization is functional for the individual only with a relatively open social structure providing for mobility. For only in such a structure would such attitudinal and behavior preparation for status shifts be followed by actual changes of status in a substantial proportion of cases. By the same token, the same pattern of anticipatory socialization would be dysfunctional for the individual in a relatively closed social structure, where he would not find acceptance by the group to which he aspires and would probably lose acceptance, because of his outgroup orientation, by the group to which he belongs. This latter type of case will be recognized as that of the marginal man, poised on the edge of several groups but fully accepted by none of them.[23]

The greatest chance of Indians fitting into this category might very well be the more traditional Native American. It is generally the case that traditional Indian tribes are more closed in their orientations toward outsiders. The result of Indians from a closed social structure developing orientations to an outgroup can be a type of marginal man, especially if such an individual returns to his own community after residing in an outgroup environment.

Another illustration of the marginal man concept might include an Indian who is fairly acculturated into the Anglo-American culture, although still maintaining varying degrees of "Indianess." This individual might be most beneficial to tribal organizations who have difficulty dealing with the power structure and are more traditional in orientation. Indians in this position have the benefit of crossing into two world and such experience could pay dividends to Indian communities. However, Indians, as a result of this acculturation process, can experience the greatest obstacle if non-acceptance occurs. Caution should be exercised in order to avoid deterioration of relations between administrators and their communities. As the social relations between the individual and the rest of the group deteriorate, the norms of the group becomes less binding for him.[24] In other words, Indian administrators in these types of positions frequently have problems maintaining their status as administrators under such conditions of non-acceptance.

It must be emphasized that these examples serve the purpose of illustrating the complexity of the Indian administrator's role. Many more examples could be brought to light, but the real issue should focus upon an administrator's awareness of his role, and his relationships with the community or organization he services. One additional point should be addressed here. The more traditional a community seems to be, the greater the number of potential problems for such trained professionals. Traditional communities are locked into struggles with the world around them. Change is one major segment of what such communities seek to avoid and any administrative policy which might be conceived as non-traditional in its orientation could be viewed with suspicion. Henceforth, the administrator's role represents a most precarious position.

In review, the use of role-sets and their expectations, the middleman minority and the marginal man concepts can develop a framework for consideration. The use of these terms only serve to illustrade the complexity of problems surrounding social structures and their relationships to values. Values, in the final analysis, become the crucial element in the constitution of tribal communities.

Summary and Conclusions

The use of the models in this paper serve to demonstrate the variety of problems that could be encountered by an emerging leadership that is growing among Indian organizations across the country. The central focus rested upon two major areas. The first area dealt with the nature of Indian communities with relationship to the sacred-secular or modern-traditional value structures. The second area of interest used sociological theories in an attempt to illustrate the complexity of role-sets for administrators with backgrounds founded upon education at universities. These role-sets frequently determine the relationships that such administrators must develop according to the nature of the community they work with.

The solutions to the myriad of problems that administrators encounter depends to a large extent upon how these leaders adapt to the communities' social structure and the demands placed upon them by members of the community. The solutions to such problems may not occur, but the leadership potential will depend upon the individuals understanding such value structures within a particular community and the degree to which conflicting patterns of values manifest themselves. If an Indian leader has any chance of surviving in a community filled with value disparities, he must first realize that they do exist.

One final point should be emphasized. Although this paper focused its attention upon administrators who obtain training at institutions of higher learning, all Indian leaders confront similar problems with relationship to the communities in which they service. The only difference rests with the fact that such trained administrators are either (1) different because they have not resided with the community they will work with or (2) their views have been altered because of such training. Consequently, the relationship of such leadership styles will not be the same as the community value structure. It is important to stress that leaders in this position must be extremely cognizant of this type of situation; if this does not happen, effective leadership will not occur regardless of professional training experience.

NOTES

1. Howard Becker, "Current Sacred-Secular Theory and its Development," in *Modern Sociological Theory: Continuity and Changes*, ed. Howard Becker and Alvin Boskoff (New York: Dryden Press, 1957), p. 134.
2. Ibid., p. 139.
3. Ibid., p. 143.
4. Laurence Iannoccone and Frank W. Lutz, *Politics, Power, and Politicy: The Governing of Local School Districts* (Columbus, OH: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1970), p. 32.
5. Ibid., p. 31.
6. Ibid., p. 32.
7. Ibid., p. 31.
8. Robert K. Thomas, "Eastern Indian Communities," in "History and Background of Indian Education," *Indian Education Confronts the Seventies* (Tsaile, AZ: Navajo Community College; Oglala, SD: American Indian Resources Association, 1974), I: 167.
9. Ibid., p. 161.
10. Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society," *American Journal of Sociology* 52 (January 1947).
11. Thomas, "Eastern Indian Communities, p. 164.
12. Kenneth M. Morrison, "Native American History: The Issues of Values," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 5(4), (1978): 80.
13. Ibid., p. 80.
14. Joseph G. Jorgenson, "A Century of Political Economic Effects on American Indian Society, 1880-1980," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 6(3), (1978): 1.
15. Ibid., p. 1.
16. Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (New York: The Free Press, A Division of MacMillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1968), p. 41.
17. Ibid., p. 41.
18. Ibid., p. 41.
19. Ibid., p. 43.
20. Herbert M. Blalock, Jr., *Toward a Theory of Minority-Group Relations* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1967), p. 81).
21. Ibid., p. 81.
22. Ibid., p. 81.
23. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, p. 319.
24. Ibid., p. 324.

AMERICAN INDIAN TEACHER EDUCATION

Willard E. Bill

This paper is written to offer what the author believes to be important factors in educating teachers of American Indians. These factors will take into account the history of Indian/White contact, and the resultant educational system that Indians were forced into. The article will also make education recommendations.

Education — Repression

Indians lost control of their education systems by the end of the treaty signing period that ended in 1871. The United States government, via the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), became the dominant force in Indian education by the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The off reservation boarding school became the dominant force in the educational repression of the native population. These boarding schools with their military style of operation and standard curriculum enrolled most of the North American Indian youth until the 1930's.

The period following the Civil War and continuing through the first quarter of the twentieth century was a critical one for the American Indian Community. It is this fifty year span of time when American Indians lost control of their educationsl systems. At the end of the nineteenth century and beginning in the twentieth century, the federal government became the dominant agency in educating the American Indian. This function was the result of stipulations in the treaties that required the federal government to provide health and educational services.

In the Pacific Northwest region of the United States the Medicine Creek and the Point Elliot Treaties contained provisions for education. Once the treaties, signed in 1855, were ratified by Congress, the federal government was obligated to provide educational services to the tribes. The educational services were to be delivered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the Department of the Interior.[1]

By 1876, Congress began making annual general appropriations for American Indian education. The first appropriation was twenty thousand dollars, a small amount, but it was twice as much as had been made available in 1873. This amount was increased to seventy five thousand dollars in 1885, to nearly a million and a half dollars by 1890, and to nearly three million dollars by 1900. These dollar amounts were not sufficient to meet the needs of the times as the 1928 Meriam Report pointed out. In fact, the amount of expenditures was probably what should have been spent on Indian education in 1800 — not 1900.

Educational appropriations made by Congress were expended for manual training within a boarding school setting. Students had regular daily schedules that had them attending school for part of the day, and working in a vocation during the remainder. This training provided the schools with cheap labor, but it did little to enrich the life of the Indian student, to strengthen their culture, or to prepare them for gainful employment.

The deficiencies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs educational system were brought to light by the United States intellectual community of the 1920's. With the end of World War I the United States prospered. The economy was booming and citizens generally were able to raise their standard of living. However, a number of scholars realized that a certain segment of society, the American Indian, was not sharing in the prosperity. They began to demand reform for the Indian through published articles that detailed the needs of America's indigenous peoples.[2]

Dr. Louis Meriam of the University of Chicago conducted a survey of the social and economic conditions of the American Indian. The study was conducted under the auspices of the Brookings Institution of Washington, D.C. Two of the major findings of the study were (1) that Indians were excluded from management of their own affairs, and (2) that Indians were receiving a poor quality of services especially in the areas of health and education from public officials supposed to be serving their needs.

While the report was extremely critical of the Bureau of Indian Affairs school system, it did not advocate the complete closure of the schools. If the BIA would have closed the boarding schools in the 1920's, many Indian youth would have been excluded from education entirely due to lack of schools in their home community.

The educational format of the BIA schools was attacked by a member of the study team, W. Carson Ryun of Swathmore. As a man influenced by the progressive education management of John Dewey, he was critical of the standard curriculum known as the Uniform Course of Study. This curriculum was regimented to the extent that all Indian children throughout the United States studied the same section of the curriculum daily. Ryun correctly concluded that this method ignored the individual differences of Indian youth and their respective tribes. He noted that with the diversity of American Indian tribes, languages and cultures, the uniform curriculum was not appropriate.[3]

The second area which came under attack was the age level of the boarding school children. The Meriam Report recommended that the boarding school be reserved for older children and that the pre-adolescent children should be eliminated from the boarding school system. The proper atmosphere or environment was a school located in the Indian children's community near their home. This type of location would allow a community school to operate as a day school for the youngster, and would serve the entire community rather than just the school age youngsters. Under this plan the children would go to a boarding school when they were old enough to learn a trade, and then go out to work.

Another area of criticism was leveled at the vocational training of the boarding schools. The industrial vocational training provided by the BIA was often outmoded and not realistic. The trades that were being offered in the boarding schools were already vanishing and they were not taught at a sufficient level of skill to enable the student to obtain employment. Also, many jobs that the students were training for were not located on the reservation where his skills and human resources could be used.

The Meriam Report became the leading indictment of the assimilationist policies that had existed for fifty years within the Bureau of Indian Affairs school system. The report indicated that the function of the Bureau of Indian Affairs should be to educate Indian youth to function in both worlds — the white world and the Indian world. The primary task of the BIA should be that of education and not of assimilation or socialization. The Meriam Report became the definitive study of the first half of the twentieth century, and it was an indictment of the first fifty years of federal domination in the education of the American Indian by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The 1930's

John Collier was one of the intellectuals who pushed for Indian education reform in the 1920's. In 1932 he received his chance to put his ideas into action, when he became the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. He was appointed Commissioner under President Roosevelt in 1932 and remained in this position until 1945.

Collier had the support of the Secretary of the Interior, Harold Ickes, and this support allowed him to push vigorously for educational reform. As commissioner of Indian Affairs he was able to carry out recommendations made in the Meriam Report, and he also tried to bring the educators within the Bureau of Indian Affairs to an innovative and realistic approach for American Indian education. To carry out the reform he appointed Willard Beatty as Director of Education of the BIA in 1936. Beatty remained in this position until 1952. He attempted to provide a relationship between school activities and the students home environment. He also attempted to introduce Indian culture into the boarding school curriculum, although he had a very difficult time getting that concept accepted.

The Collier administration was an example of both the great possibilities of reform within the BIA and the difficulty of implementing reforms. On the one hand Collier was able to provide in-service teacher training, bilingual teaching, local schools, and attempt to make education culturally relevant for Indian students.

Conversely, the BIA was a deeply entrenched bureaucracy and it was difficult to bring about change. Many of the policies and the people hired to carry out the policies had been with the BIA for many years. Outdated procedures and low teacher expectations of learning abilities of Indian youth had become institutionalized to such a degree that they were almost impossible to change.

Bilingual education serves as an example of why it was difficult to bring about immediate innovation in instruction within the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools. First, there was hostility within the Bureau toward the Native American language. Prior to the Meriam Report, not only was English used as the only language of instruction, but Indian children were forbidden to use their own native language at the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools. Violators of this rule were physically punished and in all cases discouraged from using their native language. In the words of Commissioner J.D.C. Adkins, "If the language was good enough for a white man or a black man it ought to be good enough for a red man."[4] This attitude, which was formulated in the period pre-dating the Meriam

Report, carried over in time, and even though the official policy changed the actions of the personnel did not. The older employees remained in the Bureau and conducted themselves in a traditional manner despite the fact their new commissioner wanted changes.

A second problem was the lack of competent Indian instructors to teach in the area of bilingual education. Many of the teachers hired prior to Collier's administration were poorly trained, had little information about Indian culture, and did not have language training. Teachers were hired on the basis of passing the civil service exam even though they did not have any experience teaching Indian students.

A third curricular problem was the fact that there were few Indian bilingual books.[5] Books were typically not about American Indians, and they were written in English. This problem was partially alleviated by Willard Beatty, who published bilingual books during his term as Director of Education. But the lack of bilingual books and materials continued to be an educational problem during the John Collier administration.

Legislation

Much legislation was passed during the Collier administration. One of the key legislative actions was the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, for it ended the allotment period and laid the ground work for more autonomous tribal government. This act, known as the Howard Wheeler Act, had a number of provisions including prohibition of further allotment of Indian land, establishment of a method for tribal organization and incorporation for the tribes.

The Johnson O'Malley Act, passed in 1934, was another piece of important legislation. This act authorized the Secretary of the Interior to contract with states or territories for the education, medical attention, agricultural assistance, and social welfare of Indians in the state or territory. Congress expanded the contracting ability of the Secretary of the Interior and allowed the Secretary to contract with state or private corporations, agencies or institutions. Funds that were made available from the Johnson O'Malley Act were designed to assist in reducing boarding school enrollment and placing Indian students in public schools.

Johnson O'Malley legislation took into consideration that Indians were living near or adjacent to non-Indian populations and that they could attend local public schools. This provided a mechanism to aid those public schools in educating American Indians rather than setting up separate Indian schools. Johnson O'Malley became a mechanism for gradually providing education in the local community rather than in federal off-reservation or on-reservation boarding schools. The act also facilitated federal-state cooperation by making contracts negotiable at the state level. California became the first state to enter into a contract in 1935; by 1940 contracts had been negotiated with the states of Arizona, Minnesota and Washington.[6]

In-Service Training

John Collier and Willard Beatty also introduced another innovation that was particularly pertinent for the 1930's. They introduced in-service teacher training during the summer months for Bureau of Indian Affairs' teachers. In-service training was extremely popular at this time because of the appealing idea of interchange of ideas between teachers. This was a time when the telegraph was an important means of communication and long distance communication was made by radio rather than telephone.

In-service workshops were conducted at Chemawa, Oregon and Sherman Institute, California. These workshops proved to be popular because of improved interpersonal communications. They were meeting the need that Beatty believed existed for Bureau of Indian Affairs' employees.

Prior to becoming Director of Education, Beatty had taken part in lengthy discussions with anthropologists and with Indian Bureau employees, and determined that a need existed for better communication. He had a close relationship with the Progressive Education Association, which allowed him to rely on their wealth of ideas in improving in-service education.[7] But Beatty was resisted by the old guard BIA employees who felt that educators outside of the Bureau had little to offer them in terms of dealing with Indian students. Collier and Beatty were criticized so severely that Homer Howard, who was the Supervisor of In-Service Training, had to write responses to the superintendents stressing the importance of these courses.

Termination Period

At the close of World War II there was a movement to return to the policies that had existed prior to the Meriam Report of 1928.

Congress began to use specific language in their deliberations regarding termination. In 1944 a House Select Committee on Indian Affairs offered recommendations to achieve "The Final Solution of the Indian Problem."[8] Once again there was a movement to take Indian children away from their homes and place them in off-reservation boarding schools. The Committee Report stated that "the goal of Indian education should be to make the Indian child a better American, rather than to equip him simply to be a better Indian."[9] By 1948 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs was setting up criteria to determine a tribe's readiness for withdrawing from federal services. Dillon Myer became Commissioner in 1950 and he thrust the termination policy well in motion. The goal was to have tribes rid themselves of Indian trust land and to terminate federal recognition and services. Indians would then be relocated to cities.

The government continued to withdraw services. In 1952 the Bureau of Indian Affairs closed all of its federal schools in Idaho, Michigan, Washington and Wisconsin. Further loans to Indian students, authorized under the Reorganization Act of 1934, were discontinued. The next year a number of boarding and day schools were closed and Indian students were transferred to public schools. Boarding schools that did operate returned to the assimilationist policies of the pre-Meriam Report. Students were educated far from their homes. For example, Navajo children were educated at Chemawa Boarding School in Oregon, and Northwest Indians were sent to such schools as Chilloco and Concho Boarding schools in Oklahoma.

The Senate and House Indian Affairs committees of the 1940's and 1950's revived the idea that Indians needed to be assimilated into the mainstream of America. Their statements called for Indians to lose their Indianness. They stated:

> The goal of Indian education should be to make the Indian child a better American rather than to equip him simply to be a better Indian. The goal of our whole Indian program should be, in the opinion of your committee, to develop better Indian Americans rather than to perpetuate and develop better American Indians. The present Indian education program tends to operate too much in the direction of perpetuating the Indian as a special-status individual rather than preparing him for independent citizenship.[10]

The Menominees of Wisconsin became the first tribe slated for termination by the federal government on June 17, 1954. The tribe was considered economically advanced because of its development in the areas of forest land investment and sawmill operation. Final termination of the Menominees was completed on April 30, 1961.

Other selected tribes were terminated during this period: the Klamaths — Western Oregon Indians; four small bands in Utah; the Alabama Coushattas of Texas; the Ponca tribe of Nebraska; the Uintah and Ouray Ute mixed bloods of Utah; and the Wyandottes, Ottawas and Peorias of Oklahoma.

In 1953 passage of Public Law 280 provided for the transfer of federal jurisdiction over law and order on Indian reservations to individual states. Prior to the passage of this legislation all criminal matters — except felonies — were handled by the federal government. Tribes had used their own judges, jails, and court system. This transfer of law enforcement was another indication that termination was vitally affecting American Indian tribes.

If the termination had been allowed to run its full course, higher education assistance and vocational training funds would have ended. Further, Indian/Alaskan Native boarding schools would have been closed leaving many Indian students isolated without a school to attend. Not only would the loss of the education resources have caused undue hardship on the youth, but it would have been a United States violation of the treaties which the tribes had signed in the nineteenth century.

Leadership

American Indian leaders mobilized to fight the termination of the 1950's. Through the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) and other organizations, they began to lobby in Congress for educational benefits for Indians throughout the United States. As a result of individual and collective political action, positive educational innovations were made in the 1960's and 1970's.

A number of studies, reports, and legislation during the 1960's were related to Indian education and were directed toward improving the American Indian educational system. Among these were: (a) the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of April 11, 1965; (b) the Economic Opportunity Act of 1965; (c) the Joint Study of the Departments of the Interior, and Health, Education and Welfare, in 1966; (d) the Coleman Report of 1966; (e) the formation of the National Indian Education Advisory Committee in 1966; (f) the Pennsylvania State Research Conference in 1967; (g) the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education in 1967; (h) the many Presidential messages of 1968 and 1970; (i) the Havighurst National Study of Indian Education, 1972; (j) and the Indian Education Act of

1972. All of these factors created a need for American Indian access to higher education and for training of Indian teachers to work with Indian students.

Teacher Training

American Indian communities realized that one of the most important factors in educating their young people was to have Indian teachers in their schools who were in tune with the culture and could relate to the Indian student. This desire created a need to train Indian teachers that understood the battle that the Indian culture had endured for the past four hundred years. It was believed Indian teachers would understand the problems because they had endured the struggle themselves. That is, they could better meet the student on common ground and establish the communication that is essential between teacher and learner.

Indian teacher training programs emerged throughout the United States during the 1970's. Among these were: Humboldt State and San Diego State in California; Northeastern Oklahoma at Tahlequah, Oklahoma; St. Lawrence University in New York; University of Arizona and Arizona State in Arizona; University of New Mexico in New Mexico; Oregon State University in Oregon; University of Washington in Washington; University of Montana and Montana State in Montana; University of South Dakota in South Dakota; University of Georgia in Georgia; and Sheldon Jackson College in Alaska.

A number of essential characteristics have become evident from these programs. One of them is that they prefer to conduct the training in classrooms where there are large enrollments of Indian youth. This has placed the laboratory component of teacher training in reservation schools, or Indian controlled classrooms in urban settings. This provision of training has been important for the student teachers because they practice teaching for an extended period of time with Indian students, who are the type of students that they will eventually teach on a full time basis.

It is anticipated that the teachers in training will remain in Indian Education and in the Indian community because they are recruited to teach in the area they live in. Traditional college programs often require that the student move away from home. The Indian education programs, however, provide the teacher certification in the local community. This allows the college to recruit local Indian students, train them in an Indian school near their home, and encourage on-going communication between the Indian teacher and Indian students.

On-campus summer school is another characteristic of these programs. Students attend summer school to receive classes that are not offered in the Indian community. These may be courses that are required for the academic major or teacher certification. Summer school provides a learning experience where the student can attend school on a full time basis without the added responsibility of student teaching. Living and studying on campus also provides some variety for the students in the training process.

Recommendations

The following ideas are proposed as critical competencies that need to be acquired by future teachers of Indian students. They are suggested to offer the training institutions and the Indian communities ideas for exploration in developing guidelines for measuring the effectiveness of the student teacher during the field experience (student teaching) process.

The number one task of the intern (student teacher) should be to install confidence and self-esteem in the Indian student. The Indian culture has been oppressed by non-Indians in all areas of life, including education. For at least four hundred years the Indian has been the victim of cultural assault that has caused damage to the self-esteem and self-confidence of the Indian adult and child. From earliest contact, racism — the idea of cultural superiority based on European lineage — has inflicted damage to the Indian culture via military encounters and, later, by an education system that made the Indian feel worthless.[11]

Teachers of Indian children should do everything in their power not to perpetuate the injustice of harming the learning potential of the Indian student. From the time the Indian child enters the school they need positive reinforcement regarding the achievements they exhibit. The Indian student may be passive until he/she feels confident enough to fully take part in the activities of the classroom. Teachers must be skillful enough to watch for the participation of the student and then reinforce that behavior.

An important ingredient in building self confidence is listening to the student. The teacher should invite comments from the student and listen carefully to what is being said. If the teacher isn't sure what the student means, follow up questions can be asked of the youngster. The teacher has the responsibility of understanding what the youngster is saying before moving on to another topic. Students need to be encouraged to interact and express their ideas at an early age. This ability should be encouraged continually.

The teachers can check their own performance by noting their own behavior which seems to bring out participatory actions by the student. Note when the students became particularly involved in an activity or discussion. What did the teacher do to encourage the Indian student to participate in such a manner? Was it your facial expression, nodding of the head, smiling or lowering your body to a level corresponding to the height of the student? Perhaps it was positive verbal remarks following the student behavior. Teachers, beginning teachers in particular, should make a mental note of the behavior that brings the best results and eliminate the behavior that doesn't seem to work with their class.

To fail to understand that there is a relationship between teacher and student behavior will diminish the teaching process and may even lead to discipline problems in the classroom. The teacher should model the type of behavior that is expected of a mature adult. This requires the teacher to be responsible for their actions, which should be open for the public to inspect.

Modeling correct behavior requires patience. Teachers encounter difficult situations daily. Sometimes it is just time consuming and tedious to teach certain concepts in the classroom. At other times it is easy to move on to new concepts when only a few of the students have grasped the introductory material. Student behavior is often displayed that is disruptive to the classroom. and perhaps has its cause in some inner turmoil that the student is experiencing. In all these difficult situations the teacher must exhibit patience by listening to the students and accepting them.

The foregoing ideas are based on the assumption that the teacher is academically prepared to teach. It is essential that the teacher provide accurate information to the students. Many of the higher education institutions that offer Indian teacher training programs are offering courses that will provide an academic foundation for the teacher. At the elementary level, a variety of methods courses are offered that provide skill in teaching math, reading, and other important skills. At the secondary level, future teachers usually have an academic major as well as teacher certification. Indian students need to be exposed to teachers that have prepared well and can demonstrate academic skills to the student.

The teacher should strive to develop the academic skills reciprocally with the Indian culture. This approach will allow the teacher to use the special abilities, interests and background of the students in instructional preparation. A good place to begin the curriculum development is in the home community of the Indian student. Teachers should search out creative methods to relate the curriculum to the concerns of the Indian student where he/she lives. They will need to examine or re-examine the local community to determine ways of developing a realistic relevant curriculum.

When the teacher examines the community there are several things that they should note. They should look for established methods of communicating with community leaders, tribal leaders, and other American Indian educators. Contact with community leaders, or at least an awareness of the communities educational priorities will allow the teacher to relate the curriculum to the recurrent activities of tribe or urban Indian community. Communication with other American Indian educators will prevent the teacher from becoming isolated in their own classroom, away from what other colleagues are teaching. Other educators can share their knowledge and innovative methods of teaching and this provides an on-going in-service activity for the teacher.

Indian teachers have a unique position in that the Indian population is relatively small, and what one Indian does in the community affects others. With this in mind, the teacher should be aware of what stance the local Indian leaders have taken on controversial issues affecting the local Indian community. That doesn't mean they necessarily have to agree with the positions taken, but they should not be so naive as to ignore what the beliefs of the leaders are.

One way to get accurate, first hand information is to invite local resource people into the classroom to speak to the students. Local speakers are well received by the students, and they have the knowledge to speak on issues and culture from a first hand or primary perspective.

However, it is also desirable that the teacher have knowledge of the history and culture of the American Indian prior to teaching. Most of the schools that have entered into the training of Indian teachers offer courses on Indian history and culture which allows students to conduct in depth study of their own culture, and reflect on their role in that culture.

Conclusion

Higher education institutions throughout the United States have developed programs for training American Indian teachers during the 1970's. These institutions have conducted training in the Indian community, both reservation and urban. This has been an attempt to meet the critical shortage of certified Indian teachers to work in classrooms with Indian children. The result has been that each year more Indians are being certified at the elementary and secondary level to teach. Some of these graduates are remaining in their home communities to teach, others are being hired to fill administrative positions, and a number are going on to graduate school.

The author has suggested some ideas in this article that are critical in training educators to work with Indian students. Teachers need to have an ability in the humanistic area to reach those students that need a supportive adult with whom to interact. This is important to the child due to the repression that the Indian community has endured throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Educational repression in boarding schools and public schools has left an indelible impression on the Indian extended family that is sending the student to school. The family is apprehensive about school because of their own experiences, and this feeling rubs off on the child. Teachers need to be aware of the apprehensions and reinforce the students every attempt to learn within the classroom.

Teachers also need to be well prepared academically. Once rapport has been established with the student, they need to require high performance. Kleinfeld has referred to this type of teacher as a "warm demander."[12] The teaching process must be a combination of humanistic relationship between the teacher and student, and the teachers demand for the student to learn basic concepts. Basic concepts can be introduced at the elementary level and reinforced throughout the educational process. Concepts such as self determination, sovereignty, reserved rights, and tribal affiliation are vital for the students to learn. This will give them more intellectual tools to build on as they continue their studies.

Authors, Lee Ehman, Howard Mehlinger and John Patrick have indicated that there are certain concepts that should be introduced and developed in the kindergarten through high school years. Below is an excerpt from their recommendations:

> Substantive concepts such as culture, society, role status, social class, socialization, and personality are used to build descriptive and explanatory generalizations in several disciplines. Methodological concepts such as hypothesis, induction, classification and sample are used to facilitate and evaluate inquiry in every social science discipline.[13]

Instruction in these concepts can provide the academic balance that is needed in the Indian teacher education programs. The humanistic component is being met to a degree by the recruiting of American Indian men and women who are sensitive to the educational issues of their culture. However, I believe that the curriculum of the programs can be augmented by the using of a conceptual approach to teaching.

The Indian student receives a bewildering array of stimuli from environment. Tribes are making major economic and political decisions that will effect future generations. Indian children learn at an early age that other people do not have the same regard for the land and its resources as they do. They also learn that the behavior patterns that they learn to properly function within the tribe, do not transfer to the larger society. They are faced with the dilemma of sorting out the mass of data and making daily decisions.

Indian teachers need to skillfully teach conceptual frameworks that allow the students to organize large amounts of data into smaller categories called concepts. The teacher realizes that there are many ideas subsumed under a concept of self determination, for example. These include the larger political arena of the United States, the tribal political arena, inter-tribal politics, treaties, competition for resources, and many other things. If the teacher merely concentrates on teaching isolated facts about these issues, the Indian students will not be able to learn the more abstract concepts and apply them to new situations at another point in his/her life.

A conceptual approach to teaching that leads to independent inquiry by the students is a way to create in future generations of Indian leaders a method of thinking through problems with the available data on hand. When the Indian teacher combines their humanistic approach with the formation of independent study, they are well on the way to becoming an effective teacher of Indian students.

NOTES

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3. Ibid., p. 23.
4. Ibid., p. 71.

5. Ibid., p. 72.
6. Ibid., p. 95.
7. Ibid., p. 86.
8. Office of Indian Education, National Advisory Council on Indian Education, *First Annual Report to the Congress of the United States* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974), p. 109.
9. Ibid., p. 110.
10. Ibid., p. 253.
11. Wilbur R. Jacobs, *Dispossessing the American Indian* (New York: Scribners, 1972), p. 140.
12. J. Kleinfeld, "Effective Teachers of Eskimo and Indian Students," *School Review* (February 1979): 335.
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A TRANSPORTABLE MODEL FOR CULTURAL AWARENESS INSERVICE TRAINING: RATIONALE AND OVERVIEW

Marcia J. Galli

I was asked to present a paper on the cultural awareness concepts that our Region VIII General Assistance Center has used in training members of Native American communities in our service area to design and then implement cultural awareness programs at the local level. To say that I have ownership of the ideas presented in this paper is erroneous. I have had the opportunity of working with a number of talented and expert individuals in the field of multicultural education, and I have learned from them. Among these are Dr. Andrew Smith, Dr. George Otero, and Mr. Gary Smith from the Center for Teaching International Relations, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado; Dr. Richard O. Ulibarri, Dean of the Division of Continuing Education, Weber State College, Ogden, Utah; Mr. Richard F. Thomas, Project Director, Desegregation Assistance Centers, Weber State College, Ogden, Utah; Dr. William Daehling, Academic Vice-President, Lewis and Clark College, Lewiston, Idaho; and Dr. Reese Parker, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan.

This paper, then, is as much theirs as it is mine, and I offer it for whatever good it may bring as a tribute to all those, including the Indian people at the local level, who have pioneered it.

The outcome of any cultural awareness or ethnic sensitivity inservice training program should be to increase awareness concerning our unique cultures and cultural heritages in the United States. They should not, in my view, be used to debate the validity of the various Civil Rights Acts which have been passed, nor should they be designed to give simplistic answers to the complex questions that surround the concepts of race and ethnicity. Rather, a more realistic and achievable purpose would be to provide an involvement-oriented approach to learning about ourselves in relationship to others who may not be like us. It is one thing to have a little or a lot of knowledge about other cultures. It is quite another thing to know and then to accept and come to appreciate the human capacity for creating diverse world views and practices. We humans are most uncomfortable when confronted with differing values and practices from those by which we were shaped. As a result, we tend to resist any force which interrupts or challenges our own well-established behavior and patterns of thinking. Just so with educators — decision and policy-makers — as well as teachers who are forced by districts to participate in cultural awareness sessions on the premise that it "will be good for you" or "you need it." My review of data indicates to me that such forced learning has just the opposite effect from creating an atmosphere of sensitivity and awareness.[1]

Care should be taken by the designers and implementors of cultural awareness programs to ensure that captive audiences of teachers and administrators are avoided and that there is sufficient incentive, i.e., credit or stipend, so that even if there is a mandatory requirement to take the program, there will be rewards for doing so.

In addition, to provide a beneficial experience for the participants involved, trained Native American, Black, Hispanic, Asian American, and Anglo-American facilitators should be used to introduce topics and assist with the flow of small group process. It is necessary to have people who differ culturally from one another to meet together to discover and improvise ways to use these differences to enhance themselves and their relationships with each other.[2] Through the exploration of our similarities, we can come to the realization of the many ways in which we have things in common. Through the exploration of our differences we can come to the positive realization that we can contribute something of value to one another. To be different is not to be inferior, but rather it is to be unique.

Thus the broad goals of the transportable model of cultural awareness are:

1) to stimulate positive attitudes in participants about cultural differences;
2) to recognize the roles of self and culture — values, personal feelings, attitudes, and beliefs — in fostering and inhibiting cultural interaction and awareness;

3) to develop an awareness of the proposition that change needs to occur within participants and institutions so that differing cultural groups can fully realize their growth potential;

4) to expose participants to various methods and strategies for learning about and coping with cultural differences; and

5) to assist in the development of a resource bank of trained facilitators who can implement the program at the local level.

Since the thrust of equal educational and equal employment opportunity is to open doors for those in America who have had limited access to education and employment, this model focuses on Blacks, Hispanics, American Indians, Asian Americans, and if desired, women; but can be readily adapted to other ethnic groups.

The aim of this cultural awareness model is to assist participants and facilitators in the discovery of differences in order to furnish each other with fresh growth-inducing perspectives. We have discovered that this is best accomplished when participants can be placed in a non-hostile, accepting environment where they can work toward disclosing themselves without fear of rejection by others. This psychological environment is not easily attained, however, so the learning environment must be structured so that successive modes and processes bring this about. These processes, in our experience, are best facilitated when people are permitted, initially, to exchange ideas on topics that are not too close to, nor too loaded with, emotional feeling.

After a rather safe, conventional interchange has taken place on this level, another topic is introduced, explored, and processed. Feelings may be present here, but this level is also noted by a lack of self-disclosure on the parts of the participants. Eventually the interchange moves to two more levels: one in which disclosure of personel self results, propelling the individual into a situation where he/she becomes known to others as a person; and one in which feeling-laden topics are introduced, explored, and processed.

Finally, any working group should culminate their interaction with a plan for implementing any needed changes which participants have come to recognize during the course of their interchange. A critical dimension of this action planning phase is to deal with what the group or individual participants will do if their attempts to implement change are not successful.

With the preceding information as a guide, the following is presented as an approach to create the needed learning environment. In most instances, each phase of the model includes four parts:

I. Development of a "set" or readiness for information.

II. Providing the information through mini-lecture, activity, or media.

III. Evaluation and processing of the information. That is, asking participants to evaluate their past in terms of new information, and to anticipate their future in terms of the new information.

IV. Critique or evoking the necessary feedback for future modification/refinement of the approach, while simultaneously reinforcing the positive aspects.

It is recommended that the following model remain a model only. It is critical to the success of any cultural awareness program that input into the design be solicited from the group or organization to which it is addressed.

A. *Ice-breaker:* After a brief introduction and stated expectations from participants and facilitators are aired, a small group activity in which participants have a chance to intermingle and become acquainted is highly desirable. This "safe" interaction between participants and facilitators promotes the healthy growth of communication. Successful ice-breakers have been:

BaFa, BaFa — a cross-cultural simulation from Simile II.[3]

The Lemon Exercise — from Pfeiffer and Jones, *Handbook of Structured Experiences*.[4]

Unfoldment and Empathetic Recall — adapted from the Human Potential Seminar.[5] (A trained and certified Human Potential instructor must lead this exercise.)

B. *Perception:* A series of visual exercises which focus on the mechanisms by which we receive and process information and images about "other" groups of people. Developing sensitivity to differences means examining our perceptions and trying on new behaviors to fit different cultural contexts. Example: OLD WOMAN, YOUNG WOMAN.

C. *Stereotypes:* Activities and readings which help participants to examine the beliefs society and individuals hold about various groups of people. Stereotypes affect what we think and believe about others as well as how we behave towards them. These images allow us to treat people in certain groups differently than we would if our thinking were less rigid and more tentative. Stereotypes often serve as substitutes for thinking. We often use them to avoid contact with those people we perceive to be "different" from us. It is basic to come to the understanding that how I view "you" and "them" says more about me than it does about "you" and "them." Example: STEREOTYPE GRID OR FILM (A film we have had success in using in this section is "Bill Cosby on Prejudice.")[6]

D. *Communication:* A set of experiences which concentrate on developing the awareness that we are all members and captives of culture. These experiences also examine how we operate verbally and nonverbally to act out our cultural roles and expectations. Example: ONE-WAY, TWO-WAY COMMUNICATION.[7]

E. *Who are the Minorities and Why:* A mini-lecture which offers an historical examination of the reasons why certain groups within the United States have failed to assimilate into the mainstream of society. These reasons include: distinguishing physical characteristics, non-traditional immigrant status, non-European background, extended periods of deculturalization and/or cultural isolation which still operate to segregate those groups within American society, and non-participation in any meaningful sense in the "frontier" experience. The groups to which the above characteristics apply are Blacks, Hispanics, American Indians, Asian Americans, and Women.

F. *Culture:* A series of mini-lectures and experiences designed to define culture and briefly illustrate that the components of culture are learned rather than innate behaviors. It is desirable to have the American Indian, Black, Hispanic, Asian American, and Woman representative make these presentations and initiate responses from the participants.

G. *Poverty:* A series of small group exercises designed to establish that behaviors often stereotypically associated with minority cultures are, in fact, poverty related characteristics rather than cultural phenomena; and to establish that poverty is a major factor in the social unacceptability of most culturally different groups in today's society. Example: STARPOWER.[8]

H. *Institutional Racism/Sexism:* A mini-lecture and set of small group exercises that attempt to illustrate that equality for all citizens is the purpose of many of the Title programs sponsored by the federal government, and that until that equality is provided for everyone, it cannot be insured for anyone. In this process, institutionalized practices that keep minorities and women from succeeding are examined and analyzed. Example: SOME QUESTIONS developed by the Center for Teaching International Relations.[9]

I. *So Where Do We Go From Here:* An exploration of the Ways to effect change followed by the formulation of an individual action plan for modification/change in the department, organization, or school to which participants belong. Example: TYPES OF POWER adapted from French and Raven.[10]

NOTES

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VI

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

MULTIPLE SOURCES AND RESOURCES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM FOR THE AMERICAN INDIAN

Floyd O'Neil

Of the issues confronting American Indian education in the past generation, none has been more consistently unyielding and complex than the development and implementation of acceptable American Indian curriculum. The previous speakers in this conference have indicated many of the reasons for this hiatus. Among those listed are the ideas held by the non-Indians of cultural superiority, distrust of non-European religions and philosophies, not to mention the full measure of bigotry we have experienced.

Until the 1930s, a remarkable posture by the government and the churches of the United States designated the philosophical ends of American Indian education — that Indians would be made over into Christian farmers and would fit the mold of American society as represented by the Jeffersonian agrarian matrix. Alas for the white dreamers! The cultural diversity of American Indian people reacted as strenuously against this predetermined model as one might expect. In that resistance to make the Indian over, there grew up a class of distrusted and hated Indians, who were referred to by the whites as "blanket Indians" or "unprogressive." To those of us who have worked in the third quarter of the 20th century in attempting to review, retain, dignify, and implement the Indian cultural life, those resistant Indians are very often our heroes. Because of the government of the United States, the membership of a host of Christian religions and numbers of the middle class in America and their insistence on conforming Indians, the Indian religions, ceremonies, and folkways were driven underground and thus protected.

The problem for the schools was not in the saving of American Indian culture, but in finding a method of representation of American Indian culture in the classrooms. Many innovations were tried. In at least 100 places, schools attempted to incorporate American Indian values and knowledge by having tribal elders appear in classroom situations to teach and guide the children. Where the classrooms contained mainly tribal members, this approach often proved successful. In most other instances, it was a remarkable failure. In still other places, the reaction to the local schools was to send an increasing number of the children to Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools. This system proved to be very effective in maintaining Indian contacts, but a great number of the people who attended lost much of the detail and attention of their individual tribes. More importantly, a great number of those who attended the Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools did not learn ritual dogma, or as it is called in the Indian communities, the ceremonial life, and then tried to regain it during the years that they were young adults. Of course, as educators, we know that not all of the tradition and ambience of that ceremonial life can be gained once we are adults. As the elders of many tribes have explained to me, you grow up with it or you learn it in a very different way.

Schools, in general, can never hope to perfectly mirror the society they represent. Likewise, American Indian society philosophy and life can never be a perfect instrument within the format of the schools which came to us from Europe. But, the schools can do a lot more than they have done in the past! Furthermore, the time for them to do that something has long since passed.

Many sincere efforts have been made in the past two decades and some historians of the movement would even go back to the Collier Administration to point to the new innovations in the curriculum which include Indian materials and Indian-oriented materials. Nearly all of the funding for those innovations were within the Bureau of Indian Affairs' schools of the American West. Because in those years the sharing between the public schools, generally, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs' schools was extremely limited, the materials became encapsulated and were not integrated into non-bureau schools.

Beginning in the 1960s, a great number of new efforts to recognize minorities and to do what was then called making them part of the mainstream of American society was initiated. Assassinations, riots, and social dislocation forced the American society to rethink the nature of the relationships between the majority population and the minorities within the body politic. Among the things which required urgent change were the schools. But the schools are insulated and establishment-oriented and they yielded less to the change than the rest of the society generally. Where colleges and universities had thinking adults, the reaction was often violent and even deadly. But in the grades kindergarten through 12, the change came slowly, painfully, and the cadre of teachers by and large thought of themselves as the ones who could "pass on the culture and pass the culture on." Since that time, great numbers of federal programs have impacted those schools to attempt to get the teachers and administrators to give ground. But, American Indian tribes are still having difficulty in getting curriculum which represents them implemented in the school systems.

When I began in 1967 as a researcher in American Indian oral history, one of my first experiences was to return to the reservation where I was born and reared and ask the people for permission to collect history. The tribal council there asked several questions: Would they receive copies of the history? Who owns history? What use can be made of historical material? And, most importantly, can the material be used to change what the schools have to say about the Indian people in that area? By 1969, we were already involved in a major effort to include Indian materials on an equal footing with social studies curriculum from the non-Indian world. The reception by the children was enthusiastic; the reception by the teachers was skeptical. Things have improved since then. Several people posed the question for the University of Utah. Can American Indian history and tradition be included in a curriculum kindergarten through 12? By then, the answer was already receiving some tenuous affirmatives. Two or three pioneering efforts in the Dakotas and among the Navajos were joining with our experimentation at the Ute Indian Reservation. Each project was very different. At Rough Rock and other places the materials tended to be grade school level. Our experience was to attempt to reinforce children at the Junior High School years, where rising social consciousness tends to illuminate racial minorities and to ostracize them socially. But, not all of our material was developed for the secondary schools.

I was asked to address you on the subject of multicultural sources and development of social studies curriculum for American Indian communities, and I would now like to make some specific recommendations.

1. Learn to live and revere the traditions of a people. Every community known to man has its values worth perpetuating.
2. Make those remarkable persons who are the careers of the golden cords of human tradition and experience more important in the total fabric of the society.
3. Do oral history after careful research. Make those oral histories collected extremely extensive, detailed, and searching.
4. Duplicate the tapes. Type them into typescript, index them, cross-index them, place them in the libraries of your communities.
5. Work with a research institution or knowledgeable consultants in American Indian history to gather the records from whatever source and evaluate and index those records for the development of social studies material. They will also be of extremely great use in land claims, jurisdictional battles, and most of the other interchanges with the society generally. Knowing your own history really does matter.
6. Do not try to do anything as important as curriculum off the top of your head. Find out who the friends of the Indian people are on college and university campuses and use their expertise. If they ask for copyright, show them the road home.
7. Work with the teachers and administrators in the schools who are accepting your American Indian people so that when the materials are developed, you will be able to get them field tested and accepted by the schools.
8. Strive for state and national recognition of your labors. Everyone one else does.

Those of you who are, perhaps, timid of starting projects such as I have described, let me give you a word of encouragement. Most non-Indians who develop materials do not do so alone. They have the assistance of great libraries, of materials developed within universities, the aids and help of university professors, and the assistance of state education departments. Therefore, why don't you select the same quality of assistance but keep control yourselves; don't allow the funding to go to them, allow them to use only that portion of grants which represent their services provided, and keep the copyrights and profits.

DEVELOPING INDIAN CONTENT IN SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION: A COMMUNITY-BASED CURRICULUM MODEL

Timothy Shaughnessy
Eddie F. Brown

> It is not hard to find a bibliography that says, "Here are Indian contents, here are all the books written, here are all the articles." It is one thing to identify the content. It is another thing to put that content and then teach it from a point that supports Indian perspective.
>
> What this basically means then to me in social work is that part of my challenge is to begin to try to identify content that speaks for the support and strengthening of Indian families. Social work has a notorious history of destroying and attacking Indian families. Foster care, child welfare, supposedly to benefit the Indians have really destroyed and attacked severely the Indian family.
>
> Roger Buffalohead
> Washington State University

If America were a static society and its communities and their inhabitants changed little over time, the task of social work curriculum developers would be immeasurably simpler. Rapid and extensive change in both the individual and the collective experience, however, as Alvin Toffler points out in *Future Shock* and *Learning for Tomorrow*, is the reality of the times.

To effectively cope with the reality of rapid change, educational anthropologist George Kneller warns curriculum developers to broaden their resource scope in an attempt to better understand the culture(s) in which they are employed. "Progressive educators," Kneller notes, "maintain that in order to adapt American education to an era of rapid change, we must focus both general and special curricula on the contemporary culture" (Kneller, p. 138). He further observes:

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> As the rate of cultural change accelerates, educators find it increasingly difficult to adapt the curriculum to the so-called demands of society, since they do not know exactly what their demands are or how long they will last (Kneller, p. 136).

Changes in culture (mainstream, ethnic, tribal, etc.) brought about due to the contingencies of time, then, should be the primary target area for contemporary curriculum developers according to Kneller. Logic suggests thus that for maximum curricular relevance and meaningfulness, curriculum developers must draw upon a broad base of community resource persons representative of a given culture at the present time.

Like Kneller, James Gollattscheck in *College Leadership for Community Renewal* stresses the importance of the curriculum developer in identifying and utilizing pertinent community input. Gollattscheck notes, for example, that leaders of educational institutions must recognize that the college and the community (a collective manifestation of a given culture) are interdependent. "It seems obvious," says Gollattscheck, "that the college as an agency does not exist in isolation from the community and its many organizations and agencies" (Gollattscheck, p. 45). He depicts later in his book the important advantages of drawing upon community resources:

> The colleges' and the communities' images of each other will change as the college begins to work with community groups on a partnership basis. The college will gain a better perspective of one or more publics within its community as it loses its "ivory tower" insularity. The college will gain valuable credibility in the eyes of the community as it demonstrates, rather than talks about its interest in working with groups, agencies, and organizations for community improvement.
>
> In short, the college attempting to become effectively involved with the community in improvement and renewal activities should recognize the great potential of community organizations and agencies (Gollattscheck, p. 49).

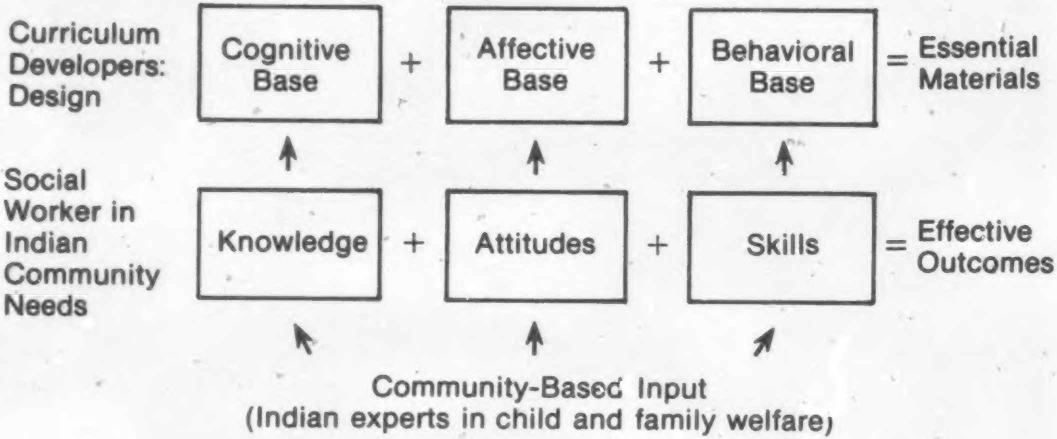
American Indian communities, like their mainstream society counterparts, are likewise undergoing spacious alterations. Although the present modification of Indian community life is obvious in many aspects — agriculture, schooling, business — new approaches to the delivery of social services, particularly relating to children and families, is an issue of serious magnitude to Indian people and therefore to social work curriculum developers too. The delivery of social services to Indian children and families, however, cannot be addressed singularly, as an isolated concern. As a matter of fact, to best understand the process of delivery and the product of services, and the subsequent problems that have prevailed traditionally and have been born as a consequence of recent decisions and approaches, numerous "other" aspects of relevance to the Indian experience must be explored, comprehended, and eventually utilized. "Others" is not easy to define, especially given the page limits of this article; in brief, however, examples of relevant other aspects which are intricately interwined with child and family welfare are: tribal culture, reservation/urban economics, the unique Federal trust relationship, the effects and potential of self-determination, tribal sovereignty, family networks and bonds, nutrition, mobility, educational structure, and many more.

In addition to emphasizing knowledge of the above aspects of Indian life, it is also the responsibility of the social work curriculum developers charged with this area of concern to stress the concomitant attitudes and skills. Knowledge of, in a phenomenological sense, must be interfused with an existential "feeling for" — an affective as well as cognitive side. Finally, to utilize the cognitive — affective base and thereby effect positive change — a third element is necessary, namely, the skill base. This behavioral element, the competence or "how to" side, brings the cognitive and affective into fruition. For the social worker who deals with Indian populations, possession of this tri-dimensional scheme is not only an important but a necessary quality.

Given the tri-dimensional curricular framework, the major concern of the social work curriculum developer becomes the need to identify the specific knowledge, attitudes, and skills which are most significant and valuable to inculcate in social work students and practitioners concerned with Indian child and family welfare. When faced with the question, "Whose input should we rely upon to determine curricular relevance?," the answer seems clear: 1) those closest to tribal lifestyle, norms, and mores, and 2) those who possess the most experience and expertise in Indian child and family services, namely, Indian social work professionals. Following the advice of innovator Michael McDanfield in "Tomorrow's Curriculum Today," in which he posits "There seems little question that curriculum design must begin with a concern for the individuals who are most concerned with that curriculum" (p. 104), and Michael Rossman in *The Wedding in the War*, who believes that it is no longer possible simply to rely on the university specialists to furnish an adequate education, curriculum developers in schools of social work attempt-

TABLE I

Tri-Dimensional Curriculum Model


Curriculum Developers: Design
Cognitive Base
+
Affective Base
+
Behavioral Base
= Essential Materials
Social Worker in Indian Community Needs
Knowledge
+
Attitudes
+
Skills
= Effective Outcomes
Community-Based Input
(Indian experts in child and family welfare)

ing to infuse Indian or other ethnic content must encourage and take advantage of pertinent community resource persons. As curriculum developers responsible for fulfilling this task, we must make the same assumption that was made by the group of educational writers and researchers assembled by the Center for Adaptive Learning, Inc., who stated:

> We assumed that there is an environment outside the school that is related to the curriculum. The core curriculum does not exist in a vacuum. If we have a concern for social reality, we must link the instructional program implicit in the culture. What has already been done by the media of the culture and other socialization methods? What is it that the instructional media should do? What is it that the media of the culture can do? How can we bring the two together? (McDanfield, p. 109).

"Bringing the two together," as stated above, merging the community/cultural resource persons with academic specialists in curriculum design, becomes an imperative when building a curriculum that is technically sound and relevant to understanding and improving the state of child and family social services in Indian communities. Leona Foerster and Dale Soldier, in a recent article in *Educational Leadership*, recommend that Indian people be involved "at every stage" of curriculum development. "Indians," they assert, "are weary of being 'explained' by non-Indians. They want to tell their own story" (p. 192). In a final statement they conclude:

> In order to assure authenticity and validity, then, most curriculum projects call for direct involvement of Native Americans during every phase. Attention is given to such elements as tribal history and government, language, religion, customs, and values (Foerster and Soldier, p. 192).

Given the number of tribes within the United States and the diversity of tribal cultures, it is difficult to develop specific Indian curriculum which relates to all tribal groups. However, the task of developing curriculum training materials becomes much more manageable given that the proposed curriculum to be developed is to focus on major concerns, problems, and issues which surround Indian child welfare services for the purpose of sensitizing and making the non-Indian worker more culturally aware. Two reasons for this are:

1) There appears to be overall concensus among Indian groups concerning the identification of major concerns, problems and issues of child welfare services, as shown through sev-

eral national studies and conferences. Although the tribes may be culturally diverse, the past development and present circumstances of child welfare services, i.e., high non-Indian foster care and child adoption, under utilization of tribal resources, insensitivity of non-Indian workers, etc., appear to be shared by the majority of tribes.

2) The task of sensitizing and making the non-Indian social service worker more culturally aware to the needs and current situation of American Indian children and families can be accomplished by addressing the major concerns, problems and issues held in common by diverse tribal groups. Examples are related to a specific tribal groups of the Southwest, Plains, Northwest, etc. may be used, making the curriculum more relevant to workers of these areas.

The task of developing meaningful curriculum materials which has genuine relevancy for Indian communities is a difficult and complex process. However, if agencies are to be truly responsive and supportive of the American Indian communities, the task must be addressed. Agency personnel who operate in a culturally diversified setting must be prepared to offer creative, innovative, sensitive and relevant services.

To fully understand the need for the development of such materials (curriculum) two crucial areas of concern must be reviewed. The current state of the field of Indian family and child welfare must be explored. Second, the relevancy of training and preparation of service providers in correlation with the community they serve (i.e., American Indian) must be reviewed.

American Indian families today face and experience stress, perhaps as results of the nature of the social and cultural setting, which often seems overwhelming. There are many who have been sufficiently and appropriately prepared, who are able to survive — perhaps even take full advantage of opportunities that such a socially diversified setting may offer. These persons have been able to find and create experiences that allow for the self-actualization of maximum potential. There are those on the other hand who are experiencing many living difficulties. To make the situation even more complex, those who are trained to render professional services seem too poorly prepared to serve effectively within the American Indian community.

Consider the following:

> A survey of states with large Indian populations by the Association on American Indian Affairs indicates that 25-35 percent of all Indian children are removed from their families and placed in foster homes, adoptive homes, or institutions... Many social workers, untutored in the ways of Indian family life and assuming them to be socially irresponsible, consider leaving the child with persons outside the nuclear family as neglect and thus as grounds for terminating parental rights (Indian Family Defense).

Obviously, training and preparation of service providers must be addressed by social work curriculum developers.

> However, there are numerous... barriers to the full provision of services to Indian children and their families, including a failure to understand tribal cultures; a failure to recognize the special legal and cultural factors that arise in providing services to Indians; the relatively low level of Indian involvement in child welfare matters as foster and adoptive parents, as administrators and staff, or as members of advisory boards; and barriers to the operation of programs by tribal government and other Indian-run agencies under contract from states or the BIA (U.S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, p. 22).

A review of current literature indicates that many professional Indian social workers do not consider the curriculum of Schools of Social Work to be sufficiently strong so as to adequately prepare practitioners for effective service to Indian community. In fact, John Compton, in *Social Work Education for American Indians* states:

> Until recently, very little attention has been given to the issue of curricular relevance... This survey also demonstrated that the Schools [illegible] ocial Work which responded were not focusing on Indian child welfare. Curricular content in this area was infrequent and spotty, and no specialized practicum placements in this area were reported, in spite of the fact that curricula focused on children and families... Respondents also felt that non-professional Indian people should have input into this curriculum development process... That greater attention needs to be given to Indian cultural reality when social work educational programs are planned and that these programs should be made relevant to Indian students (pp. 48,55-56).

After discussing the general need for cultural relevance in curriculum design, utilizing community-based input, and the need for the infusion of pertinent Indian content into social work curricula, the remainder of this paper focuses upon a particular methodology for developing quality curricula that contributes to the overall effectiveness of social workers (or any human service personnel) operating in Indian environments.

The methodology here discussed was employed by the American Indian Projects of the School of Social Work at Arizona State University as part of its mission to develop quality Indian-based materials. In addition to providing a brief recapitulation of the data collection process, this paper will also introduce the developed curricular materials that grew out of the data collection phase, and will present a summary of findings which were determined following analysis of the generated data.

DATA COLLECTION PROCESS

Stage One — Identification of Curriculum Training Content

The AIP with assistance from the Inter-Tribal Council of Arizona, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Phoenix Indian Area Office), and the Arizona Department of Economic Security, identified and selected key family and child welfare practitioners/volunteers working within Indian settings in the Southwest. These individuals were selected because of their specialized experience in the administration and/or delivery of social services to Indian families and children; their awareness of the issues, concerns, and problems in service delivery; and/or knowledge of the Indian cultures of the Southwest particularly related to family and child rearing practices. We obtained a representative balance from professional and community organizations; various agency groups, i.e., tribal, state and Federal; as well as reservation and urban settings. Both Indian and non-Indian participants were used (Indians comprised 84.5 percent of the group).

This selected group served as the Project's Advisory Committee and was brought together for a two-day session. The purpose of this workshop was to identify the knowledge areas, attitudes, and skills essential for the training of child welfare and social service workers providing family and children services to Indian populations.

To increase creative productivity, facilitate group decisions, and help stimulate the generation of critical ideas among the committee members, the Nominal Group Technique (NGT) was utilized.

The Nominal Group Technique was selected because of its proven effectiveness with a wide range of cultural, educational and socioeconomic groups. NGT is best used in settings which call for wide representative input and where difficulties in ranking or rating data as a basis for group decision-making are such that traditional meetings are of relatively little use. A NGT structured group meeting proceeds along the following format. Imagine a meeting room in which a group of individuals are sitting around a table in full view of each other. The meeting begins with each individual responding to an earlier developed nominal question by writing his ideas on a pad of paper. At the end of five minutes, a structured sharing of ideas takes place. Each individual in round-robin fashion presents one idea from his or her private list. A recorder writes the idea on a flip chart in full view of the committee members. There is no discussion at this point of the meeting — only the recording of privately narrated ideas. Round-robin listing continues until all members indicate they have no further ideas to share.

The outcome of this phase of the meeting is a list of propositional statements. Discussions for statement clarification follows and is structured so that each identified statement receives attention. This is accomplished by asking for clarification of each statement listed on the flip chart. After clarification, the identified statements are then organized by the committee into major categories. Independent voting then takes place on the categories. Each member privately selects priorities by rank-ordering each major category. The group decision is the mathematically pooled outcome of the individual rankings.

Nominal questions posed to the committee throughout the two-day session addressed knowledge areas, attitudes, and skills (see Table I) needed by child welfare and social service staff working with Indian family and children. The questions were:

1. What beginning *knowledge* should child welfare and social service workers have to be more sensitive and culturally aware of the needs, lifestyles, and practices of Indian families and children?
2. Given the identified knowledge areas, what *attitudes* should be developed in child welfare, and social service workers which best reflect the perspective that supports the survival and strengthening of Indian families?
3. Given the identified knowledge and attitudes, what skills for the utilization of more appropriate service programs and methods are needed by the child welfare or social service worker?

Stage Two — The Development of Teacher/Learning Packages

Major categories and prioritization of knowledge, attitudes, and skills identified from the NGT process were analyzed and provided the framework for the identification of specific curriculum training content areas for the development of teaching/learning packages. Individuals with specific expertise in the identified training content areas were identified by the Advisory Committee, and AIP contracted them as consultants to develop teaching/learning packages across the five specified training content areas that were determined:

1. Indian Societies of the Southwest.
2. Indian Family Networks and Relationships.
3. Social Work Practice with Indian Families.
4. Federal, State, Tribal, and Local Legislation and Policy.
5. Community Organization and Resources.

The five "package developers" furthered our data collection stage by researching and otherwise providing the specific, relevant facts, concepts, and documentation necessary to complete a handbook and instructor's manual containing the five areas of training content curriculum modules.

The final stage of data collection took place in the testing and evaluation stages. Following field testing all five modules with Arizona State University graduate social work students and selected Arizona Department of Economic Security employees, evaluative input data was gathered relating to both curriculum content and presentation methodology. Also, the original Advisory Committee members were asked to return to ASU for a second meeting to evaluate the modules and generate any final data which could be useful to refining or improving the curriculum itself or the manner in which it was presented.

After that rather brief review of how we obtained data to develop the curriculum packages, it is interesting to examine some of the more salient findings that resulted from our process.

Summary of Findings

As a result of the two-day workshop employing the nominal group technique, findings were determined which had important and practical implications for developing curricular content which focuses upon social work with American Indian people. Responding to the knowledge, attitude and skill question identified earlier, the Advisory Committee identified 119 knowledge items, 48 skills and 24 attitudes they believed were essential for a child/family social worker to possess to be effective in Indian settings.

After the committee categorized and prioritized their responses into five separate areas of concentration (which become the content for the five modules mentioned above), further analysis revealed where intensity and major emphasis existed. For example, 36 specific knowledge items (30.2% of all knowledge related responses) focused upon pertinent realities of Indian lifestyle and cultures (contained in Module Three). As could be expected then, the largest number of identified skills (43.7%) related to developing personal and work related competencies that enable the social worker to function effectively within the realities of Indian lifestyles and cultures. The bulk of identified attitudes also were addressed to this concern. Although many attitudes were listed here, the prevailing general theme could be stated as "Positive expectation of Indian family by the social worker," "empathy and sensitivity to diverse cultures and lifestyles," and "beliefs in the ability of Indians to strengthen their lives and communities."

Thus, according to our findings, a positive correlation exists among the three variables (knowledge, skills, attitudes) as they relate to the total phenomenon of "pertinent realities of Indian lifestyle and cultures." So, we can infer, much specific information needs to be learned, and in order to effectively apply the learning a sound curriculum approach must also include the concomitant skills and attitudes which correlate with each learned fact.

For Module IV, Federal, State, Tribal and Local Legislation and Policy, the same pattern emerged as above. Here the committee identified 29 specific knowledge items (24.3%) that social workers needed to acquire. Correlated with these knowledge items 10 skills (20.8%) and 7 attitudes (29.1%). It was interesting to note the thematic focus of the separate attitude response was on "acceptance and appreciation of tribal governments, courts, and organizations as significant and contributory." Knowledge of skill in utilizing, and respectful attitude towards the concept and right of Indian sovereignty also ranked high in this module.

Underlying these and all the other areas of major emphasis (extended family, discrimination, history, parental roles, communication, self-determination, counseling, flexibility, etc.) was the importance of understanding, using, and appreciating cultural diversity. The fact that tribes differ greatly not only from non-Indian society but also among themselves was stressed constantly in the data gathering. Diversity in values, religious belief, inter-personal relations, protocol, economics, disciplining children, family and class structure, and in education were highlighted. To account for this great diversity, the committee stressed that social workers newly introduced to an Indian community (reservation, rural, urban) must be oriented to all pertinent local social aspects and must incorporate their acquired knowledge into their service delivery process. This theme prevails throughout the five modules we have developed.

As a final observation, our research revealed that possession of no single, all-encompassing attitude, or even several attitudes, are sufficient to blanket the range of knowledge and skills needed to determine social work competency in Indian communities. Specific attitudes, or general attitudes broken down into particular elements, are necessary. For example, in relation to understanding and operating within the area of Federal-Tribal legislation, a general attitude such as "respect for all cultures" may not suffice according to our findings. What would be necessary is possession of a number of more delimited attitudes, such as: a) acceptance of a sovereign jurisdiction within the national boundaries, b) appreciation for the unique nature of Federal-Tribal inter-relationships, c) belief in Indians' ability to create laws, rules and regulations, and d) acceptance of the fact that historical policy and treaties have caused the current impoverishment and therefore dependency.

Conclusion

Naturally, detailed, step-by-step procedures and exhaustive findings could not be provided in the space limitation of this article. Hopefully, however, the framework that was described will be useful to future curriculum development attempts and/or studies in the Indian content-social work arena. Moreover, we believe that the "fruits of our labor" are the modules themselves, and the findings which were determined from the module content are delimited by their Southwest regional input. Obviously, due to the vast number of tribes and tribal characteristics throughout the nation, and the unique geographical, political, socioeconomic, and racial/ethnic environment in which Indian communities interact, curriculum materials need to be developed in a locality-relevant context which, based upon sensitivity and appreciation, depicts the reality of the Indian condition.

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CONTRIBUTORS

Andrew Andreoli
Consultant
American Indian Education Unit
California State Department of Education
State Capital
Sacramento, California

Willard E. Bill
Director
Indian Teacher Education
College of Education
University of Washington
Seattle, Washington

Anthony D. Brown
Assistant Director
American Indian Studies Center
University of California
Los Angeles, California

Eddie F. Brown
Director
American Indian Projects
School of Social Work
Arizona State University
Tempe, Arizona

Ward Churchill
Associate Director
American Indian Educational Opportunity Program
University of Colorado
Boulder, Colorado

Joseph Dupris
Executive Director
Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards, Inc.
Denver, Colorado

Jack Forbes
Native American Studies
University of California
Davis, California

Marcia J. Galli
Indian Education Coordinator
General Assistance Center
Weber State College
Ogden, Utah

Frederic J. Gunsky
Consultant
Office of Intergroup Relations
California State Department of Education
State Capital
Sacramento, California

Tom Holm
History Department
University of Wisconsin
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Joann Morris
American Indian Education Commission
Los Angeles, California

Grayson Noley
Director
Native American Program
College of Education
Pennsylvania State University
University Park, Pennsylvania

Floyd O'Neil
Associate Director
American West Center
University of Utah
Salt Lake City, Utah

Robert W. Rosson
Division of Education Policy Studies
College of Education
Pennsylvania State University
University Park, Pennsylvania

Timothy Shaughnessy
Project Coordinator
American Indian Projects
School of Social Work
Arizona State University
Tempe, Arizona